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NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* Dr. Charles W. Hobart

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DATED/*DATÉ* 13 April 1977 SIGNED/*SIGNÉ* Lance W. Roberts

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXÉ* Department of Sociology
University of [redacted] Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

WAGE EMPLOYMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN TWO EASTERN ARCTIC COMMUNITIES

by

© LANCE W. ROBERTS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
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The Undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled INUIT WAGE EMPLOYMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN TWO EASTERN ARCTIC COMMUNITIES submitted by Lance William Roberts in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Charles M. Hobart
Supervisor

George Kupfer

External Examiner

Date December 17, 1976

ABSTRACT

This work investigates the effects of wage employment on Inuit from two Eastern Arctic communities. In particular, the study focuses on two related but distinct questions. First, how are Inuit workers reacting to the on-the-job demands of their oil exploration wage employment? Second, what effect is this massive influx of wage employment having on the home communities of native workers? Both of these issues are particularly relevant given the present and growing interest in northern development.

This study marshalled a variety of direct and indirect measures in an attempt to answer both of the central questions posed by this investigation. In addition to providing descriptive answers to these questions, the work placed each issue within a theoretical frame of reference. Concerning on-the-job performance, competing theories about the importance of various background characteristics, including education, for native integration into an industrial labour force are presented. The issue concerning the community effects of wage employment is placed within two competing traditions about the necessity of community disorganization resulting from intensive, short term introduction of change.

In general, the findings of this study suggest that Inuit workers are performing well in their new wage employment positions, and that the native communities are also adapting to the recent

availability of wage employment opportunities. Correlates of these successful individual and community responses to wage employment are enumerated and policy suggestions are discussed.

PREFACE

Social Science and Northern Development

Various sources of human insight exist (Wallace, 1971). "Science" is only one method for understanding the world; other methods include tradition, authority, and revelation (Montague, 1925). Of the available methods for producing knowledge, however, the history of natural science demonstrates that scientific thinking has a variety of important advantages (Butterfield, 1961; Bronowski, 1974). Drawing on the natural science tradition, many observers believe that the understanding of social phenomena can be facilitated by the increased application of the scientific method to human concerns (Babbie, 1975; Nettler, 1968).

Social concerns are as prevalent in the Canadian North as anywhere, especially since World War II when social change in that region has been extensive (Jenness, 1964; Gemini North, 1974). The rapidly expanding human concerns in the North have produced a demand for social scientific insights into these problems. A recent review demonstrates that the demand for scientific study of social concerns in the Northwest Territories has not been adequately met (Lotz, 1969). Of the social research that has been conducted on the North, much of it is tainted with romantic illusion or moral fervor (Roberts, 1973). With respect to other concerns, there is simply no scientific information available (Hughes, 1965). In short, there is a need for more scientific research on the social concerns existing in the Canadian North.

The Issue

The following contributes to the growing body of social science focusing on the concerns of native people in the Northwest Territories. In particular, this study examines how Inuit from two Eastern Arctic communities are responding to recent encounters with extensive, regular wage employment opportunities.

A Note on Method

Before outlining the organization of the following presentation, it is worthwhile to comment on the type of research represented in this study. Traditionally, sociologists have distinguished "exploratory-descriptive" research from that which "tests hypotheses of a (predicted) causal relationship between two variables" (Selltiz, et. al., 1951: 51-78). Although there is some overlap between these two general methodological procedures, it is fair to consider the test for hypothesized causal relationship as the more "classical" scientific procedure. Such procedures deduce hypotheses to be tested from a firmly established theory (Simon, 1967). This differs significantly from the exploratory-descriptive methodology which attempts to "portray accurately the characteristics of an individual, situation, or group" often without specific initial hypotheses about the nature of the characteristics or relations to be described (Selltiz, et. al., 1951:50). The exploratory-descriptive methodology is a more common procedure in socio-cultural research (Spradley, 1972).

For reasons that shall be evident later, this study draws on both the exploratory-descriptive and the hypothesis-testing

methodological traditions. To avoid confusion, it is important for the reader to recognize this methodological mixture from the outset. Many of the following chapters contain sections which are purely descriptive as well as sections which have theoretical relevance. In order to avoid a feeling of disconnectedness, the reader should appreciate that the descriptive sections of this study are as important as those which are theoretically significant. In social science generally, and especially in the North where serious study is just beginning to occur, an important part of the scientific endeavour is the presentation of accurate inventories describing historical and present conditions and situations (Nettler, 1968:205). For this reason the exploratory-descriptive sections of this study are presented without trepidation.

Chapter Organization

The body of this study is presented in eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study's central concern with how the Inuit of the Canadian North will respond to expanding industrial employment opportunities. This first chapter demonstrates that there is a meaningful debate in the northern development literature surrounding two issues related to native exposure to industrial employment. The first issue debates whether Inuit workers will successfully adapt to the on-the-job demands of an industrial wage employment setting. The second issue relates to whether Inuit contact with industrial wage employment will have significant adverse effects on the home communities of the Inuit workers.

Chapter 2,demonstrates that this study has both theoretical and practical implications. In this chapter it is argued that the study's central findings have practical relevance to government, industrial, and native development strategies in the North. This chapter also integrates the study into two theoretical orientations. Concerning the effects of wage employment on the home communities of native workers, Chapter 2 demonstrates that this study provides an interesting test of competing socio-cultural theories about externally generated change. These theories speculate about the necessity of the relationship between rapid and extensive community change and community disruption. On the question of adjustment by individual Inuit workers to the demands of industrial wage employment, this study is related to the theoretical discussions which argue about the relevance of schooling and other factors for adaptation to industrial wage employment opportunities.

The third chapter of this study contains two descriptive components. The first part of the chapter outlines the history of Inuit-white culture contact in the North Baffin Island region. The point of this descriptive review is to provide the reader with an appreciation of the state of the Inuit people at the time of their exposure to extensive industrial wage employment opportunities. The second section of Chapter 3 provides a profile of the demographic, social, and economic situation of the Inuit communities under consideration just before extensive wage employment opportunities became available. By presenting the historical and pre-employment profiles of the North Baffin Inuit communities, this chapter provides

the reader with a background against which to evaluate the effects of industrial employment.

Like Chapter 3, the fourth chapter is principally descriptive. This chapter provides a summary of the history and policies governing the industrial employment programme under which the Inuit workers laboured. The chapter describes the nature and logistics of the oil exploration activity as well as the kind of jobs and living conditions the Inuit workers were exposed to while employed.

Chapter 5 discusses the study's methodology. Explanation of how the two Inuit communities and the native workers within these communities were chosen for study is given. The variety of data sources used to assess both the adjustment of Inuit workers on-the-job and the effects this wage employment was having on their home communities are also discussed in detail. In addition, this chapter also contains a section showing how the various data sources were amalgamated and operationalized into indicators that are both descriptively meaningful as well as useful for testing the theories discussed in Chapter 2. Finally, this chapter provides the rationale for the data analysis techniques employed in the study.

The sixth chapter contains two components and discusses how the Inuit workers are adapting to the on-the-job demands of the wage employment setting. The first part of this chapter is principally descriptive and provides a summary of how the Inuit workers are performing in various aspects of the work situation. In this section the performance of Inuit workers is presented both in absolute terms and in comparison to a sample of white employees working under

essentially similar conditions. The second part of this chapter is integrated into the theoretical discussion introduced in Chapter 2 concerning the importance of various characteristics of native workers for their successful adaptation to the demands of industrial wage employment. The empirical validity of the assertions about schooling natives for employment are revealed in this chapter and the implications of these findings are discussed.

Like Chapter 6, the seventh chapter contains both a descriptive and a theoretical component. Unlike Chapter 6, which focuses on individual worker adjustment to the employment setting and the characteristics of successful adaptation, this chapter is interested in community effects associated with massive exposure to wage employment. The descriptive part of this chapter reviews the changes that the two Inuit communities have experienced since a large proportion of their male populations have been engaged in industrial wage employment. These descriptive changes are contrasted against the pre-employment profiles of the Inuit communities provided in Chapter 3. The second section of this chapter interprets the theoretical relevance of the findings about community change. These results are discussed as a test of the socio-cultural theories reviewed in Chapter 2 which hypothesize a necessary relationship between rapid and extensive community change and community disruption.

The study closes with Chapter 8 which summarizes the major descriptive and theoretical contributions of the study. The contributions of the study are discussed in the context of the implications they have for the continuing debate about northern development

alternatives. Various suggestions for further research on the effects of expanding wage employment opportunities for the native people in the Northwest Territories closes Chapter 8.

A Comment

The concerns of all groups interested in the development of the Canadian North, especially those of native people, are authentic. Debates between various interest groups about the degree and direction of future development frequently rest on beliefs about what is valuable or important. In most cases, however, it would seem reasonable and fruitful for groups espousing competing development positions to incorporate an appreciation of present northern realities into their futuristic exhorations. Appreciation of the present when discussing the future might well go some way in tempering overzealous proposals by any group.

It is by providing an appreciation of present realities that social science can be useful. The study which follows aspires to present an assessment of the costs and benefits of industrial development in one northern situation.

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE: PROBLEM STATEMENT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

For students of development in the Canadian North, Flucke (1963:17) raises a lively issue:

> For those of us who are interested in the future of the Eskimo, an expansion of job opportunities in the Arctic would sound the death knell of under-priviledge by offering employment to every able-bodied adult. And possibly twenty thousand jobs will be created in the next twenty years. But for those who are concerned with Eskimo employment problems, there is a real question here. It is not whether the jobs will be ready for the Eskimo, but whether the Eskimo will be ready for the jobs. Will he be sufficiently well educated and trained? Will he have the right attitude towards wage employment? Will he desire the living standards wage employment can bring him enough to bear with its normal routine of labour? In other words, will he have become essentially a Canadian citizen capable of measuring up to the stiff requirements of job-holding in competitive Canadian enterprises?

The Canadian North is a region rich in resources (Berg, 1973; Jones and Lonn, 1970) and industrial development of these resources, in one form or another, seems inevitable (Inuvialuit, 1976). Given likely future industrial development in the North, it is interesting and important to speculate on how the indigenous Inuit will respond to available wage employment. The review of the Northern development literature in this chapter identifies two basic perspectives, labelled "optimistic" and "pessimistic", concerning possible Inuit responses to available industrial employment opportunities.[1]

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study investigates the responses of Inuit from two Eastern Arctic communities to rotation wage employment with an oil company involved in petroleum exploration work. Specifically, the two central problems of this study can be stated as follows. First, how are Inuit workers responding to on-the-job demands of an industrial employment setting? Second, what effect is this employment having on the home communities of Inuit workers?

COMPETING DEVELOPMENT POSITIONS

The Pessimistic Position

This perspective on how the Inuit will react to expanding wage employment opportunities advocates that satisfactory adjustment is unlikely.[2] Arguments for this position come from various sources and are expressed about on-the-job adjustment by native workers as well as the effects wage employment will have on native communities. The arguments forwarded by pessimistic observers on these two issues are considered in turn.

On Work Adjustment. Concerning on-the-job adjustment, those who advocate a pessimistic position base their arguments on their experience with, or predispositions about, the adjustment of Indians in southern Canada to steady wage employment (Patton, 1975; Dryfoos, 1970). A recent study by Braroe (1975) on native-white interaction in a Canadian Plains community is replete with examples illustrating

the pessimistic attitude held by many whites. Native workers are characterized as shiftless, lazy, irresponsible, impulsive, and unreliable. For example, one shopkeeper expresses his view of natives in comparison to whites:

> They got no discipline or responsibility. Sure lots of young white kids goof off now and then - play sick for a day to get off work so they can go for a swim or something - but they outgrow it after a while, they develop a sense of responsibility . . . . But these Indians just don't bother to show up - no explanation, no nothing (Braroe, 1975:100).

There is evidence which demonstrates that the employment record of southern Indians, in terms of unemployment and high job turnover, is not impressive (Stanbury, 1975; Frideres, 1974). This poor employment performance has, to be sure, both structural and social psychological correlates (Adams, 1975; Banfield, 1968). Regardless of the causes, however, evidence for Indian-white differences in wage employment success does exist and, to some extent, supports the pessimistic position.

This factual assertion about Indian-white employment differences deserves two points of elaboration. First, it is likely that the stereotype of laziness and unreliability expressed by white observers about natives is considerably more encompassing than a strictly factual interpretation would permit. Overstatement and overemphasis are characteristic of stereotypes generally (Bruner and Tagiuri, 1954). Nonetheless, self-fulfilling prophecies do occur (Merton, 1967), and overemphasis on native-white employment differences may have serious consequences for native self-images and for reality. Second, there is some evidence which indicates that lack of initiative in industry and related behavioural traits are common among colonialized peoples

throughout the world (Memmi, 1965:79-89). These two points of qualification are raised against any interpretation which suggests that southern Canadian Indians are peculiar in their reactions to a foreign economic system.

The qualifications, however, do not negate the conclusion that there is an attitude of pessimism expressed, for factual or other reasons, by some observers about the adaptability of southern natives to the demands of industrial wage employment. When speculating about the likelihood of a northern native population like the Inuit adapting to the rigors of industrial employment, these observers simply extrapolate from the south to the north and express similar pessimistic attitudes.

Those who hold pessimistic attitudes about Inuit adaptation to industrial employment are often members of business enterprises (Banks, 1976; Roberts, 1973, 1974A, 1975; Patton, 1975). For example, on some oil rig drilling sites, supervisors of native workers have been known to allow less than adequate work to pass with the rationalization that "You can't expect any better; they're just God-damn natives" (Roberts, 1975). Attitudes of this type illustrate that some observers of northern development expect the Inuit to develop and demonstrate the same inefficient work habits that are reported to exist among natives in southern based operations.

Flucke (1963:17-18) summarizes the pessimistic attitude toward Inuit wage employment adaptation as it applies to his experience in the Eastern Arctic:

> Today, the Eskimo (in particular the Eastern Arctic Eskimo to whom the writer's working experience is confined) is still not

> far removed from his aboriginal stone-age forebears, despite nearly half a century of contact with traders, missionaries, and government officials. He is still improvident in the extreme, lacking in foresight, tradition bound and superstitious--- primarily a gatherer of food, tied to the ways of his ancestors by economic habits and traditions of behaviour much stronger than the average southern Canadian would realize . . .. As a worker on a project distant from his home settlement, his initial enthusiasm wanes, and after a few weeks he is anxious for home.

In short, the pessimistic observers argue that the Inuit are not likely to adjust readily to an industrial employment setting because they, like southern Canadian Indians, hold a set of attitudes and values that are antithetical to the demands of wage employment. The possible self-fulfilling nature of these attitudes has already been noted. From this point of view, the adjustment of the Inuit to on-the-job industrial settings will only take place "after the massive absorption of southern language, southern values, and southern ways of working and living" and the point is reached where the prospective employer "need not consider the fact that he (the Inuit) is Eskimo" (Flucke, 1963:18). Proponents of the pessimistic viewpoint see the likelihood of such a massive shift in values and attitudes as slight. Such a conclusion about the possibility of immediate large scale shifts in value orientation is supported by social psychological evidence (Banfield, 1968).

On Community Effects. Advocates of the pessimistic viewpoint about the likelihood of successful Inuit adaptation to the demands of the employment setting were principally members of business enterprises. Advocates of the pessimistic position regarding the effects of wage employment on the home communities of native workers are usually concerned social scientists (Brody, 1975; Crowe, 1975; Richardson, 1976; Usher, 1974). In most cases, social scientists who advocate the

pessimistic position on this issue have studied the effects of native-white contact in several settings and generalize their findings to the contemporary situation of the Inuit. Brody, in the foreword to his perceptive book on the recent developments among Eastern Arctic Inuit (Brody, 1975), illustrates this process of generalization from other contexts to the Inuit case:

> The predicament of the contemporary Canadian Eskimo is deeply troubling. It embodies --- within its very short history --- the destructive processes and social deformations that colonialism everywhere entails (Brody, 1975:5-6).

In the same way, other works on the Canadian North are interested in paralleling the present plight of the Inuit with that of other "fourth world" peoples around the globe (Manuel and Poslums, 1974).

In brief, to pessimistic observers, the introduction of extensive wage employment to non-western peoples is seen as carrying a variety of undesirable effects for traditional social and cultural patterns. These consequences include changes in family organization, interaction patterns, power distribution, value and belief systems, and a variety of other effects generally associated with modernization (Locke and Stern, 1946).

Several pessimistic observers of northern development interpret Inuit exposure to industrial wage employment as just another step in the pattern witnessed throughout native-white culture contact history (Crowe, 1975; Usher, 1974). This pattern is interpreted as one of continuing corruption of traditional social and cultural patterns of the Inuit living in Arctic settlements. Brody (1975:31) expresses the views of many in this regard:

> There has been a continuity in the nature of the changes the Eskimos have undergone, a continuity best explained in terms of incorporation: whereas missionaries and traders desired moral and

> economic incorporation, the newer institutions aim at incorporation that is broadly ideological (through education), national (through law and medicine), and finally political (through local government). Whites who live in the Northern settlements today are, most of them, agents of incorporating agencies.
>
> Gradually the Eastern Arctic, which for a long time was regarded as the last preserve of Eskimos life in anything like its traditional form, is in danger of becoming yet another empty suburb of the North American metropolis.

For pessimistic observers, foreseeable industrial developments in the Arctic are likely to carry consequences for Inuit communities which will continue the tradition of educational, political, economic and spiritual domination that has existed throughout Inuit-white culture contact history (Crowe, 1974; Hughes, 1965).

The Optimistic Position

Advocates of the optimistic point of view fall into three main categories. A first group of optimistic exponents includes a limited number of social scientists (Yatsushiro, 1962; Salisbury, et. al., 1972; Van Stone, 1960; Hobart, 1976). As early as 1956 social scientists like Van Stone were noting the possibility that, under certain circumstances, it was quite possible for the Inuit to adapt successfully to wage employment. He concludes his report on the Eskimo of Point Hope in northwest Alaska:

> We have seen that the Point Hope Eskimo . . . have achieved a successful combination of traditional subsistence and wage economies that allows them to retain their aboriginal methods of obtaining food and satisfy the wants that have been created by contact with the outside world. Although the social structure has been weakened to some extent, the village has maintained its cohesiveness and is in no danger of disintegration in the future (Van Stone, 1960:190).

More recently, a similar optimism regarding Inuit reaction to industrial wage employment has been expressed by Hobart in his studies of the

Coppermine Inuit who worked for Gulf Oil:

> We conclude that in our judgement the employment programme should certainly continue but that there should be continuous monitoring of the situation in the community . . .. Despite the caution with which we approached the interview data from the workers and their families, their enthusiasm for the employment opportunities seemed so great (that) it seemed impossible to recommend contrary to their explicit preferences (Hobart, 1976:17).

Social scientists, however, are not the only group expressing some optimism about Inuit contact with wage employment.

Directly or indirectly government spokesmen have also reiterated the importance of successful Inuit adaptation to expanding wage employment opportunities. The following two quotations come from federal government officers and demonstrate the state's enthusiasm for northern native wage employment. These quotes, it should be noted, occur seventeen years apart and express policies spanning two decades:

> The objective of Government policy is relatively easy to define. It is to give the Eskimo the same rights, privileges, opportunities, and responsibilities, of all other Canadians; in short, to enable them to share fully the national life of Canada . . .. The task, then, is to help him to adjust his life and his thoughts to all that the encroachment of this new life must mean (Lesage, 1955:4).

> The government's policy statement on development during the '70's makes it clear that the first priority is to be placed upon programs that will lead to improvement of opportunities and living standards of northern people . . .. Building roads and pipelines is not enough. We must train northern natives to take advantage of the employment opportunities that will become available (Chretien, 1972:3).

From these quotations it is evident that federal government policy in the North has, since World War II, been premised upon successful integration of native inhabitants into an industrial labour force. Programmes and policies based upon expectations such as these necessarily contain an optimistic perspective about the ability of natives to adapt.

The third group expressing an optimistic viewpoint about successful Inuit adaptation to wage employment opportunities are northern entrepreneurs. Throughout the MacKenzie Valley and in other regions, a significant number of businessmen representing both small and large industry continue their attempts to hire and integrate native people into their employment operations (Gemini North, 1974).

Through words as well as actions, a variety of different classes of northern observers have expressed an optimistic orientation toward the possibility of successful integration by natives into expanding industrial wage employment opportunities. Positive attitudes and behaviour of this type are not always forwarded as "an act of charity--- perhaps of reluctant acquiescence in government suggestion" as the pessimistic Flucke (1963:18) suggests. Often the positive position is forwarded for good reasons.

On Work Adjustment. Two kinds of evidence reinforce optimism about Inuit adjustment to the demands of a wage employment setting. A first source of positive evidence derives from comparative psychological testing of the Inuit with southern whites. These data assess the psychological potential of native northerners to adapt as successfully as whites to industrial wage employment. A second source of positive evidence is also comparative. These data examine Inuit-Indian differences regarding their respective committment to traditional lifestyles. Both of these sources of evidence encourage optimism about the likelihood of successful Inuit adaptation to the demands of industrial employment.

1. Psychological Evidence. The available psychological evidence concerning native on-the-job adjustment can be grouped into three categories. These categories include evidence concerning perceptual and intellectual skills, educational ability, and value orientations.

One type of mental characteristic relevant for adaptation to an industrial world involves perceptual and intellectual ability (Berry, 1971). Perceptual and intellectual development tests done on native northerners have assessed intellectual development through Piagetian tests, general intelligence through I.Q. tests, and general perceptual-motor skills (Preston, 1964; Berry, 1966). When results of these tests are compared to southern whites, they provide one indicator of whether the Inuit possess a potential for industrial adaptation significantly different from westerners.

Psychological studies of perceptual and intellectual ability have been summarized by Berry (1971:232-233). He concludes that "Eskimos differ very little from southern norms on tests involving perceptual skills of those abilities tapped on 'performance scales' of conventional intelligence tests". Other data (Reich, 1966) demonstrate that Inuit and white school children are virtually equal on most conventional tests of intellectual development. Evidence of this type is encouraging. The evidence is encouraging because it suggests the Inuit possess perceptual-motor skills and a level of cognitive development equivalent to whites. On these dimensions, then, they appear as equipped as southerners to adapt to wage employment. This conclusion is interesting because, as Berry (1971:232) points out, it is rare for

non-western peoples to perform as well as westerners on these types of tests. This suggests that perhaps the Inuit have, in some respects, more potential than other non-western groups to adapt to the demands of industrial wage employment. But perceptual and intellectual development tests are not the only psychological evidence which encourages optimism about Inuit adaptive potential.

A second type of relevant cognitive test employs a variety of educational success predictors or, in other words, the ability to learn new skills relevant to an industrial environment. MacArthur (1962) demonstrated that Eskimo children perform credibly when compared to southern whites on western-derived and western-biased tests of educational ability. The practical implication of this finding is interpreted by Berry (1971:233) as suggesting that "traditional intellectual development has prepared northern peoples reasonably well for our notions of education". Evidence of this kind supports the optimistic expectation that the Inuit will respond favourably to education or training programmes which provide them with skills requisite to success in an industrial work setting.

The two kinds of cognitive evidence considered so far suggest that the Inuit have perceptual and intellectual potential as well as learning abilities comparable to southern whites. This evidence suggests that the Inuit have the potential to respond favourably to an industrial employment setting. There is, however, a third variety of psychological evidence that seems relevant to whether this potential ability will be actualized. This third body of psychological evidence relates to value orientations.

The general question of the relevance of value orientations

for integration into industrial wage employment has been pursued by Banfield (1958, 1968). In brief, Banfield's work suggests that, without proper value orientations, adaptation to wage employment and industrial development generally is unlikely to occur. Banfield has documented this conclusion with respect to underdeveloped groups both in southern Italy (Banfield, 1958) and in large American urban centers (Banfield, 1968). It seems important, then, to consider what has been said about the value system of the Inuit.

There exists a variety of studies which have investigated the value orientations of Inuit people (Lantis, 1959; Briggs, 1968, 1970; Honigmann and Honigmann, 1965). These different studies employed a variety of methodologies but have produced a reliable portrait of values cogently summarized by Ray, et. al. (1962). Leaving aside the etiology of characteristic Inuit values, the available roster can be divided into two categories; those which are favourable to industrial adaptation and those values which are less favourable.

Favourable values found among the Inuit include those described by Briggs (1968) and Ray, et. al. (1962) as moderation, optimism, pragmatism, voluntary conformance, and the desire for food, safety, and service. These traits would all seem to have utility for adapting to industrial wage labour. Juxtaposed against this roster are another set of values including venturesomeness, egalitarianism, anti-routinization, fatalism, and "present" time orientation (Berry, 1971; Ray, et. al., 1962). These values may be interpreted as hindersome for a person seeking success within a petroleum exploration industrial setting.

To summarize, the psychological research on value orientations appears unclear in its support of either an optimistic or pessimistic prediction regarding adaptation to an industrial work setting. But this is the only available psychological evidence which expresses ambiguity. The other research on intellectual and perceptual skills, as well as that on educational capability, speaks optimistically for successful Inuit adaptation. In short, most of the available evidence on Inuit mental characteristics suggests that they should do reasonably well in any attempt to adapt to the demands of wage employment. This conclusion is expressed by Berry (1971:232-233) when he states that the Inuit possess several cognitive characteristics "important in a technological economy" and that the available psychological evidence "bodes well for the acceptance of southern technology by northern peoples".

2. Comparative Committment to Traditional Lifestyles. The pessimistic viewpoint on Inuit work adjustment was forwarded principally by men within industry. Their argument was premised on extrapolations from their experience with Indian workers in southern Canada. Some comparative evidence exists which challenges the validity of viewing all Canadian native groups as though they were essentially similar (Dryfoos, 1970). In particular, this evidence challenges extrapolations made about Eskimos from Indians and competes with the central premise of the pessimistic argument against successful Inuit adaptation to wage employment.

The work of Dryfoos (1970) is worth reviewing in this regard. Dryfoos studied the Indian and Inuit of Great Whale River and attempted

to explain why the Inuit were generally judged by whites to be more ambitious and better workers than the settlement's Indians. Dryfoos emphasized that the significant variable affecting this differential committment to and success in wage employment was remembrance and, hence committment to, traditional native lifestyles.

Through extensive interviews Dryfoos was able to demonstrate that the Indians had an intimate and lasting committment to their past while the Inuit relationship was more tenuous. Dryfoos explains this differential committment to traditional lifestyles as follows:

> The harsh physical environment and the problems of sheer survival in traditional times may provide one clue to both what and how much of the past is recalled today. Although life was difficult for both peoples, the Eskimos faced an environment that was more continuously threatening than did the Indians. Certainly this is how it is viewed in retrospect: many more Eskimos than Indians comment that the old days were "bad", or that "there was great hunger and starvation many years ago" (Dryfoos, 1970:59).

From this argument Dryfoos goes on to develop the implications his findings have for differential adjustment by Indians and Inuit to industrial lifestyles:

> The Eskimos, then, may well have been more apt to recognize the advantages of Euro-Canadian culture and to welcome a way of life offering security and comfort. The Indians, with their less oppressive past, may have adopted the material culture of the white man less wholeheartedly (Dryfoos, 1970:59-60).

Admittedly, there is presently little other evidence to corroborate Dryfoos' conclusions. But the evidence he does present represents a competing hypothesis to that of the pessimists regarding the adaptive capability of Inuit people to industrial wage employment.

On Community Effects. Optimists marshal two kinds of evidence for their hypothesis that Inuit wage employment will not carry overly serious consequences for native communities. Both bodies of evidence

are historical and lend credence to the conclusion that the Inuit are a people possessing high adaptive potential.

The Inuit of the Canadian Arctic have a history stretching back for over five thousand years (Crowe, 1974; Stevenson, 1969). Living above the arctic circle in a frozen desert, the life of the traditional Inuit was harsh (Stevenson, 1969; Roberts, 1973). As Stevenson (1969:3) points out, there is little point in softening the conclusion about the severity of traditional Inuit life:

> . . . there is no point in idealizing. Their numbers remained small because death came often. Eskimos starved, died by violence, died young. Possibly they had some of the diseases of our civilization before we came - arthritis, heart disease, pneumonia, appendicitis. Life was precarious and life was relatively simple. Eskimos had learned to conform to the nomadic hunters' life and the climatic cycle of the seasons. They were imprisoned in their Arctic environment. Toynbee refers to Eskimos as one of the arresting civilizations whose "tour de force" was living and hunting on or around the shores of the Arctic seas. This demanded so much of their energy that none was left to apply to further advances. The climatic cycle made them captives of their Arctic environment.

Against a difficult environment the Inuit culture has adapted extraordinarily well, as many ethnographers have pointed out (Jenness, 1918, 1964; Hughes, 1964). In short, then, Inuit history demonstrates successful adaptation to one of the more difficult physical environments in the world. Recognizing this historical adaptivity, optimistic observers draw two conclusions about the ability of Inuit communities to adapt to a modern, industrial environment. The first conclusion is that such adaptation is quite possible; the second conclusion is that such adaptation is likely desirable.

First, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the Inuit population will probably be able to flourish in industrial settings

where the environment is more controlled and considerably less difficult than in traditional times. Recent history bears out this hypothesis. For example, since World War II, when modern industrial interests took a serious interest in the Arctic, the physical environment of the Inuit has become considerably more controlled. Ameliorating housing and health programmes are only two of many examples of this change (Thomas and Thompson, 1972; Hawthorn, et. al., 1973). Aided by modern material influences, Inuit populations in the Arctic have flourished as infant and adult mortality rates have declined and life expectancy has increased (Freeman, 1971). As a consequence, the Inuit are now one of the fastest growing populations on earth (Simpson and Bowles, 1969). On the physical level, then, it appears quite possible for Inuit communities to survive and flourish in an industrial setting.

The desirability of adapting to an industrialized physical environment is the second implication drawn by optimistic observers in arguing that Inuit communities will successfully adjust to the challenges introduced by exposure to modern industrial influences. The thrust of this argument comes from the repetitive cross-cultural observation that non-western peoples show an enthusiastic interest in the material comforts afforded by western technology (Locke and Stern, 1946; Morris, 1956). As Jarvie (1975) has emphasized, some cultural characteristics have more universalistic human appeal than others, and the pursuit of physical security is one of these cross-cultural constants. From this point, optimists argue that it is reasonable to assert that the Inuit will also welcome the transition from the cruel environment to a more protective one (Roberts, 1973).

There is a second line of argument which, like the first, is historical and relates to the adaptive capabilities of the Inuit. This second point, however, emphasizes the ability of Inuit communities to adapt to a changing socio-cultural environment rather than a changing physical environment.

Ethnographic reports demonstrate the impressive ability of the Inuit to adapt to a changing social and cultural context (Jenness, 1964; Matthiasson, 1975). For much of the past one hundred to one hundred and fifty years the Inuit have experienced increasing culture contact with southern whites (Jenness, 1964). Especially in this century, the adaptations the Inuit have had to make have been both rapid and continuous (Roberts, 1976). For example, although large scale introductions of foreign economic, spiritual, educational, and political-legal systems have taken place, Inuit culture persists (Crowe, 1974; Brody, 1975). Through all of this contact, Inuit people have responded in a manner which demonstrates their social and cultural viability. As Matthiasson and Matthiasson (1975:25) point out:

> The Inuit have suffered oppression and exploitation in the past. Most other ethnic groups in Canada have also, and that may be exactly why they have retained their ethnic identities, and now do so in an unself-conscious manner. The Inuit have also survived, and will continue to do so.

The optimistic conclusion about the future adaptive survival of Inuit communities is most often attributed to the flexible social organization of the Inuit (Willmott, 1960). Whatever the source of Inuit adaptive capabilities, however, extrapolation from the historical record speaks optimistically for adaptive Inuit responses to new developments introduced by industrial wage employment exposure.

Chapter 2

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

THEORETICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Theory has a variety of functions for science (Danto and Morgenbesser, 1960). One useful role theory plays in any scientific investigation is providing a larger context into which particular findings can be integrated. In this manner, theory provides a meaningful system of orientation for a research problem (Jung, 1965). The objective of the following section of this chapter is to provide a relevant theoretical context for the two problems being pursued in this study.

Schooling and Work Adjustment

The first central problem proposed in this study queries the reaction of Inuit workers to the on-the-job demands of industrial wage employment. An exploration of this question has theoretical importance. Specifically, the theoretical importance of the question lies in investigating the relative importance of various independent variables in explaining the successful or unsuccessful reactions of Inuit workers.

Throughout the Northwest Territories, as in North America generally, there exists a widespread belief in the importance of schooling for adjustment to industrial employment (Vallee, 1960; Okpik, 1960).[3] A wide variety of theoretical literature and public

programmes are based on the assumed close relationship between acquiring schooling and doing well in industrial employment. The objective of this section is to review the literature about the utility of schooling for industrial employment.

Post-War Policies. It is only since the second World War that serious educational policies have been pursued in the Northwest Territories (Jenness, 1964). In the quarter century since that time, the usual policy advanced by government, and that accepted by many native parents, has been one of cultural replacement (Hobart and Brant, 1966). The logic underlying this policy is straightforward. Schooling was to be used as the principal vehicle through which northern natives could acquire the traits and skills relevant for assimilation into southern Canadian society. The defining features of this programme vividly demonstrate the committment to eradicating traditional culture from native students:

> The educational system in the Western Arctic is characterized by these features: continuous use of non-native teachers . . .; instruction given wholly in English; establishment and heavy utilization, from the beginnings, of residential schools, with latter-day emphasis on large units; curriculum almost entirely oriented to the southern Canadian culture and value system; and minimal attempts to produce text materials appropriate to the Arctic (Hobart and Brant, 1966:57).

Using a programme with these characteristics, northern educational policy pursued the installation of southern Canadian attitudes, values, and behaviours into native children.

Integration of northern natives into southern society, of course, had a variety of dimensions. One dimension of assimilation continually stressed by northern observers has been the integration

of natives into industrial employment, via the vehicle of education. Vallee (1960:1-3) expresses this sentiment:

> . . . I have been impressed by the absence of any strong desire on the part of adult Eskimos to either keep things as they are or return to the past . . . . The argument that, because we cannot provide the occupational opportunities now and on the spot we should not prepare people to take advantage of possible future opportunities, seems fat headed to me . . . . The fact is that in our society a basic education is required for almost any job beyond those requiring sheer muscle power. Furthermore, in our society a "basic" education is now taken to mean a high school education.

This kind of belief lay behind the heavy emphasis placed on schooling for northern natives and represents one educational theory prevalent in post-War North America.

The educational philosophy stressing the importance of schooling northern natives so that they could fully participate in the modern industrial world was not without some foundation. The experience of native northerners, as well as educational research conducted in various parts of North America, represent two bodies of evidence substantiating this belief. These two bodies of evidence are considered below.

Native Experience. The importance of schooling for modern industrial employment was first demonstrated to northern natives with the completion of the DEW Line during the 1950's. Jack Ferguson (1971) documents that when construction ended and the labour force was reduced, it was widely observed among the Inuit that those who got continuing employment were those who had gone to school and could speak English well. This stimulated a desire among Inuit parents for their children to go to school so that they could gain the security of wage employment.

Another situation which reinforced Inuit interest in acquiring schooling for industrial employment occurred when the Department of Northern Affairs created a new town named Akudlik in 1954 (Phillips, 1960). This new settlement was an experimental attempt to bring Inuit with little or no schooling, training, or English into a town with wage employment, housing, and other constraints of white settlements. The experiment demonstrated that adult Inuit were impressed with their achievements in the labour market situation and anxious that their children receive more exposure to schooling so that they could gain further. A parallel attitude regarding the school's relevance to wage employment among the Inuit was documented by Yatsushiro (1962). Reinforcing the experience of northern natives, studies in southern areas of North America empirically documented the importance of the relationship between schooling and employment.

Supporting Research. Glick and Miller (1956) analyzed the 1950 United States census and found that increases in mean income were associated with increases in schooling for all Americans. Admittedly there were racial differences in the amount of increase, with non-white males of similar age and schooling having consistently lower incomes than their white counterparts. But the relationship between schooling and income still existed. Bruner and Wayland (1958) drew a similar optimistic conclusion from their analysis of the 1950 United States census. They established, first, that school attainment is related to the type of work in which people engage; and, second, that the level of schooling required for initial entry into many occupations was increasing. Therefore, they conclude, the school is becoming

increasingly important to employment.

Similar support concerning the United States is given by Ginzberg (1956). He claims that America's historical stress for universal and utilitarian school structure has produced a situation where persons can work toward shaping their occupational future. He draws upon Wolfe's (1954) study which examines the distribution of semi-professional and managerial college graduates by the socio-economic status of their father. This study used the comparative relation between the father's occupational status and that of his son as an indicator of social mobility. The greater the disparity, the stronger the argument that other schooling influences shaped employment status. Wolfe found that in his sample 60 per cent had a lower SES background; thereby demonstrating the importance of schooling to mobility. This and some related evidence leads Ginzberg to conclude that the school system is itself the major impetus to employment success.

These two major sources of evidence, the early experience of native northerners and the American research studies, reinforced the cultural replacement educational programmes and policies in post-War Northwest Territories. In all areas of the North, southern Canadian educational curriculae and teaching methods were imposed on an increasing proportion of the native population. Although these educational policies were instituted with the worthy intention of readying native people to assimilate into southern Canadian industrial and cultural spheres, the programmes carried some important costs for native people.

Costs. The best available summary of the costs that post-War northern educational policies carried for native northerners is

presented by Hobart and Brant (1966). First, the exclusive use of southern Canadian teachers, with their impressive formal qualifications, had principally negative effects. Coming from a different culture, these teachers experienced great difficulty understanding the motivational characteristics of Inuit children. For example, they often shouted or screamed at the students. Because of their limited understanding, most new teachers were initially unsuccessful and became disillusioned. This resulted in a high turnover rate and a perpetual stream of new, inexperienced teachers confronting Inuit students. In short, the result of using only southern white teachers in the northern schooling system was to decrease the rapport and increase the difficulties in reaching students. These difficulties were compounded through the exclusive use of English as the language of instruction. This policy resulted in severe communication difficulties between teacher and student, grade retardation, and a communication cleavage between Inuit students and their parents.

The exclusive use of text material devised for southern Canadian children also had adverse effects. It promoted communication difficulties and wasted classroom time. In addition, when assimilated, the content of the books increased the native children's disrespect for their traditional values. This disrespect for traditional native culture was enhanced by the structure of large residential schools.

For long periods residential schools exposed Inuit children to a material standard of living superior to anything they had experienced in their home communities. This material luxury, when contrasted against their home settings, increased the students'

disdain for traditional ways. But the social environment of the residential schools was not so comforting. Hobart and Brant (1966) suggest that the impersonal, emotion deprived climate of the residential schools produced a variety of neuroses previously unknown among Inuit children.

Though there were costs to natives for educational policies of cultural replacement[4] to be implemented, the assumed good ends of these programmes were interpreted as justifying the means. Against this background, it is interesting and important to note that the value of schooling northern natives to participate in industrial employment has never been adequately tested.[5] Throughout the past decade, however, educational theories which stress the importance of schooling for employment have been challenged by a variety of sophisticated studies undertaken by American researchers. This research represents a competing hypothesis about the relevance of exposing persons to school on the assumption that schooling is the most important and sole variable affecting future employment success. This competing educational theory has obvious implications for policy in the Northwest Territories and is reviewed in the following section.

The Recent Challenge

The mid-sixties saw the publication of the Coleman report (Coleman, et. al., 1966) which empirically demonstrated the school's inability to reshape society. This study centered about documenting the difference between schools attended by whites and those attended by minorities, and the effect these differences may have upon school performance. The underlying assumption that school achievement is

directly related to occupational opportunity and performance carried relevant policy implications that instigated the study. If there were significant schooling differences, and if these differences were causing different school achievement and, by extrapolation, different occupational performance, then the educational disparities should be alleviated.

Coleman found that facilities, staff, and services among schools were distributed unequally; with schools attended by white children being significantly better equipped. When compared to the whites, Negroes and Puerto Ricans attended schools that were larger, older, more crowded, and had fewer laboratories, library books, auditoriums, and gymnasiums. Their teachers scored lower on vocabulary tests, and their cafeterias and playgrounds were less adequate.

After correlating these factors and others including the quality of the curriculum and class size, Coleman concluded that these factors do not have much affect on school achievement, for within school variations were much larger than any between school variations. Since variations in the schools were not found to be highly correlated with the variations in pupil achievement, the important question became one of assessing the factors which factors did affect educational achievement.

Coleman cited three factors that were highly correlated with school success. The first was the student's attitude toward control of his environment. Coleman used three indicators of sense of control over one's environment in a large attitude survey and found that, on all three, both minority groups differed substantially from the white group. The second important factor, likely associated with the first,

was the student's socio-economic status or family background. When this factor was measured by urbanism, migration, parents' education, family size, and a variety of other indicators, Coleman found significant differences between the two groups. Similarly, the third factor affecting school achievement, the aggregate SES of the student's peers, showed significant group differences.

Coleman was among the first investigators to empirically document the limitations that schooling environment could have for occupational mobility. For even if school performance was directly related to employment, the type of school was shown not to have much affect on school achievement. Therefore other, non-school variables must significantly affect employment. Coleman's findings triggered a series of other important studies that have challenged traditional educational assumptions.

Using the large amount of data becoming available on individual income differences, Jencks, et. al. (1975) examined the extent to which income differences were traceable to schooling, intelligence, and home environment. Using multivariate statistical techniques, they established that part of income variation attributable to each of these antecedent variables to be quite small. In particular, Jencks estimated that individual income variation attributable to schooling to be 12 per cent. Furthermore, only about 20 per cent of the variation in income was accounted for by schooling, I.Q., and home environment. Jencks' conclusion, that employment success was surely not the result of a single independent variable such as schooling, is in sympathy with that of many educational critics of the 1960's

who were challenging the educational assumptions of the previous decade.

Banfield's (1968) research supports the findings of the Coleman report in focusing on class differences in attitudes and how these differences affect performance. A central theme of Banfield's extensive review of the literature is that there are imperatives to difference class cultures that set severe limits to the way these classes behave and the reforms they will respond to. Such response patterns are clustered into what Banfield calls "class cultures".

For Banfield, the concept of class culture has ramifications in a number of policy making areas including education. Banfield challenges those who encourage staying in school on the assumption that the skills one acquires will be valuable for employment. He argues that there is no reason to believe that high school graduates adapt more readily and earn more money in industrial employment settings than dropouts because of anything they learned in high school. Banfield supports his thesis by showing that attempts to reduce unemployment and poverty by increasing the skills of workers through schooling have seen very limited success.

From his perspective, Banfield argues that education is a meaningful vehicle to employment success only for those from some class cultures. Further, he argues that the schools seem to be very ineffective in changing a child's class culture. In short, Banfield concludes, education seems presently not to be useful for employment to the lower classes; those who, according to many, require it most. This conclusion is tied to the reasoning that education requires an interest in imagining, working, and deferring for the future; all

characteristics not generally found among the present-oriented, "disadvantaged" child. For Banfield, the evidence of Coleman and others suggests that by the time a lower class child has reached school, his class socialized "handicaps" are so fixed that there is little the school can do.

The arguments forwarded by Coleman, Jencks, Banfield, and others still remain issues of intense debate. The important converging point is that there is a large and growing literature attacking the assumption that schooling is the only important variable directly related to employment. The findings of these authors do not deny that schooling may be a variable related to employment. Rather, they are concerned with reassessing the degree to which schooling is important to work acquisition and adjustment. Findings such as those presented in this section represent a serious, competing challenge to the assumed significance of schooling northern natives for wage employment.

The Importance of the Competing Positions to Present Research

As previously mentioned, no adequate test of the importance of schooling for employment among Northwest Territories natives exists. The competing positions presented by the two schools of educational philosophy just reviewed point to the necessity and relevance of such a test. By calling for an empirical assessment of the relationship between schooling and employment among northern natives, the competing educational theories presented in this chapter provide an additional meaningful dimension to this study's research.

Effects on Inuit Communities

A Prevailing Viewpoint. There is a theory current among students of socio-cultural change which asserts that communities undergoing rapid and extensive community change will necessarily experience various symptoms of "social disorganization" or "social pathology". Keesing (1953:84-91) has reviewed the enormous assortment of studies which support this viewpoint.

Studies supporting this prevailing point of view have been conducted mainly by anthropologists. These observers have focused their attention on "the impact of large scale civilizations on small, non-literate groups" (Chance, 1960:1028). Impact of this type is exactly that prevalent among eastern Canadian Inuit today. Inuit wage employment is one of a continuing series of changes introduced by westerners onto the inhabitants of small native communities in the Northwest Territories (Brody, 1975). Since the impact of western wage employment on the Inuit is of the type considered relevant by the prevailing theory, it follows that this model has possible utility for explaining the present situation in the Eastern Arctic.

The idea that extensive outside influences on small native communities will necessarily be accompanied by extensive social disruption usually employs reference group theory in its explanatory framework (Merton, 1949; Linton, 1940; Siegel, 1955; Clairmont, 1963). In brief, reference group theory predicts individual disorganization and personality maladjustment under conditions where membership and reference groups are mismatched (Newcomb, 1950). Such mismatching often creates an uncomfortable "double bind" situation. Berreman (1964:234)

captures the core of reference group disorganization in his study of the Aleuts:

> As a result (of reference group mismatching) an individual must make a choice. If he is to be acceptable to the Aleuts he must remain within the group and exhibit alienation from whites. If he aspires to be white and shows it, he must endure alienation from the Aleut group with little hope of achieving acceptance by whites.

Such a "double bind" situation can be viewed as characteristic of "marginal" or "alienated" men (Berreman, 1964; Stonequist, 1937).

Reference group theory is also used to explain disorganization at the aggregate, community level. In culture contact situations, where a small community of minority group members are exposed to extensive western influences, community stability should lessen under two conditions (Merton, 1949). The first relevant reference group condition exists when a large proportion of the community members change their aspirations from traditional ones to those of westerners. The second relevant condition necessary to produce disruption occurs when community members lack appropriate means for attaining their newly acquired goals. Under these two conditions, reference group theory predicts that frustration levels will rapidly increase and indicators of social deviance and disruption are likely to ensue (Clairmont, 1963).

As culture contact by western peoples has expanded all over the globe, frustrated expectations have been experienced by non-western people in many areas (Davies, 1962, 1967). In his study of the Alaskan Inuit, Van Stone (1960:174) succinctly makes the point:

> It has been pointed out many times that these (western) influences often created wants that cannot be satisfied within the community framework and are thus the cause of community disintegration.

Van Stone's comments on the Inuit point out that reference group

analysis is as applicable to the situation of communities in the Arctic as it is to common situations among other non-western peoples.

In general, then, there is good evidence both theoretically and empirically to support a theory suggesting the necessity of an association between extensive and rapid culture contact and social disruption in the contacted communities. There is, however, a serious difficulty with much of the evidence marshalled in support of this theory.

A review of the studies supporting this prevailing culture contact theory demonstrates that they have tended to focus attention almost exclusively on the disintegrative aspects of change. This strict focus has, over time, proven disadvantageous. It appears that the vision has been narrowed to collecting only evidence in support of the theory (Chance, 1960). This has led to an implicit assumption "on the part of many social scientists that rapid social and cultural changes necessarily lead to some kind of disintegration or breakdown in routine behaviour" (Chance, 1960:1028 - emphasis added). It is this imputation of "necessity" of community disruption that deserves challenge for, by extolling "necessity", exponents of the prevailing theory of culture contact have fallen into overgeneralization and overextension of their perspective.

Against the theory which asserts the necessity of the relationship between culture contact and community disruption, Chance (1960) has introduced a competing viewpoint. Chance's work, which attempts to qualify the overgeneralization of the prevailing orientation, is outlined in the following section.

Chance's Alternate Conception. Chance's point of view was inductively generated from observations made in the late 1950's in an Alaskan Inuit settlement. Generalizing from a single case study, Chance documents that the Kaktovik Inuit village people experienced a variety of rapid and extensive social changes since 1935 (Chance, 1960:1029-1033). The shift in economic structure to greater wage employment is only one of these changes. Other large scale changes have occurred in the areas of housing, medical and health care, education, et cetera. In these respects, the recent changes among the Canadian Inuit are essentially similar to those experienced by the Inuit in Chance's study (Jenness, 1964). Consequently, the orientation provided by Chance's work deserves attention by observers of the Canadian situation.

Chance began this study with the expectation of finding various indicators of community disruption similar to those predicted by the prevailing anthropological view. He was surprised to find that adjustment by the Inuit community to extensive externally generated changes was proceeding in a smooth and positive manner (Chance, 1960: 1031-1033). This unpredicted lack of community disruption led Chance to formulate another point of view using his own data and additional findings from other ethnographies.

Chance conducted a search of the literature on comparative anthropology and found four documented instances where non-disruptive rapid and extensive community change had taken place (Redfield, 1950; Nash, 1958; Adams, 1959; Mead, 1956). Using these studies and his own work, Chance (1960:1038) developed the following classificatory scheme for categorizing externally generated change of the major institutions

of a community.

Table 1

Analysis of Cultural Change Variables

		Extent of Change		
		Minimum	Uneven	Maximum
Speed of Change	Slow			
	Rapid			

Employing two relevant variables, extent of change and speed of change, Chance hypothesized that community disruption will be minimal under conditions where change in the major institutions is either (a) slow and minimal, or (b) rapid and maximum.

The logic behind this prediction is well expressed by Mead (1956:445-447 - emphasis added):

> . . . rapid change is not only possible, but may actually be very desirable, that instead of advocating slow partial changes, we should advocate that a people who choose to practice a new technology or enter into drastically new kinds of economic relationships will do this more easily if they live in different houses, wear different clothes, and eat different, or differently cooked, food . . . . Partial change . . . can be seen not as a bridge between old and new, something that permits men, slow to learn and fumbling at the unfamiliar, some respite from the unbearableness of change, but rather as a condition within which the discordant and discrepant institutions and practices develop proliferate--- with corresponding discrepancies and discordances in the lives of those who live within them.

Recently Nagler (1975) has identified a similar set of conditions among southern Canadian natives and has labelled these conditions as

the state of "transculturation". This situation, at the community level, can be interpreted as an analogue of the state of "marginality" or "alienation" at the individual level.

Compared to the voluminous evidence available in support of the prevailing viewpoint on community change elaborated in the previous section (Keesing, 1953), the alternate theory forwarded by Chance is not at all well documented. As pointed out earlier, however, much of the evidence supporting the prevailing theory suffers a selective bias. In this context, then, the work of Chance, in his own words, represents a viable alternate point of view:

> The idea that rapid change may be actually more desirable than slow change when it encompasses "whole patterns" . . . is a particularly challenging one, given the anthropologist's predilection for the opposite view (Chance, 1960:1038).

Much of the evidence considered later in this work documents the effects of wage employment on the home communities of Inuit workers. This data provides an opportunity to test the validity of Chance's competing theory. In providing such a test, the data from this study take on added theoretical importance.

PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings of this study have practical implications for the three most important interest groups in the North. These major interest groups include government, industry, and native peoples. How the findings of this study might benefit each of these groups are outlined in the following sections.

Government Interests

For at least the past fifteen years the Canadian government has taken a serious interest in sponsoring social scientific research on the North. One testament to this interest has been the series of studies undertaken by the Northern Science Research Group of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. There are reasons why the federal government has demonstrated an interest in northern research. One important reason for sponsoring such research is that it aids the development and institution of rational social programmes and policies (Nettler, 1972).

Only recently have expanding industrial wage employment opportunities become available to northern natives. The discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay in 1968 is often cited as marking the beginning of wage employment opportunities for native northerners on a meaningful scale (Usher, 1974). It seems likely that, with continued northern development, the availability of wage employment opportunities for Northwest Territories natives will continue to expand (Vallee, 1960). In short, by assessing the present and near future of the North, it seems reasonable to conclude that wage employment is going to play an increasingly important role in the lives of native people.

With the increasing importance of industrial wage employment in the North, it is interesting to note that very little research exists on how native people are responding to these employment opportunities (Hobart and Kupfer, 1974; Hobart, 1975). The expansion of wage employment in the North, when combined with the lack of research on natives responses to this phenomenon, makes study of the

type presented in this work relevant to government. Only by knowing how the Inuit and other native people are reacting to wage employment opportunities can government make reasonable and intelligent policies leading to orderly northern development.

Business Interests

A second group benefitting from a study of native responses to industrial employment opportunities are business interests in the Northwest Territories. Industrial interest in studies of this kind has already been demonstrated by their sponsorship of the only two studies of native industrial employment adaptation presently available (Hobart and Kupfer, 1974; Hobart, 1975).

There are at least two types of pragmatic gain that industry receives from studies of this type. First, knowledge of the effects employment programmes are having on native peoples and their communities is of obvious public relations value. Where the native responses to employment programmes are favourable, advertisement of this fact is useful to industry. Where employment programmes are not beneficial to native peoples, it is in the obvious interest of industry to recognize this situation as soon as possible so that appropriate rectifying adjustments can be made. In short, then, no matter what the consequences of industrial employment for natives, it is evident that sponsoring industries have a vested interest in monitoring these effects.

The second practical advantage to industry of studies investigating Inuit responses to wage employment is that it facilitates the efficient administration of these programmes. For instance, knowledge

of relevant background characteristics of effective or ineffective native employees would certainly assist in making employee procedures more efficient. Similarly, knowledge of employment programme characteristics which promote more efficient responses from native workers is similarly useful. For at least these reasons, business interests can derive practical benefit from studies which investigate Inuit responses to wage employment opportunities.

Native Interests

As previously mentioned, it is reasonable to assume that wage employment opportunities are going to expand throughout the Northwest Territories. This conjecture underlines the reason why native groups have a vested interest in knowing how various native groups have responded to industrial wage employment opportunities. As industrial interests expand in the North, an increasing number of native settlements will be faced with the decision about whether, or how extensively, to allow their communities to participate in these developments. At both the level of individual workers and that of native communities, the decision about whether to participate in available wage employment opportunities would be facilitated by knowledge of what has happened to other workers and other communities in similar situations.

Chapter 3

THE PRE-WAGE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

A SHORT HISTORY OF CULTURE CONTACT IN THE EASTERN ARCTIC

It is commonly believed that the Inuit have remained relatively out of touch with the influences of whites until very recently (Williamson, 1974). With respect to the Eastern Arctic, however, Williamson (1974) challenges this belief. Williamson notes that it is important to remember that Inuit-white contact in the Baffin Island region has been "quite long and though until recently sporadic, not without some significance" (Williamson, 1974:60).

The nature of native-white culture contact in the Eastern Arctic has been discussed by Williamson (1974:60 who notes:

> . . . Even the earliest European visitors to the Arctic bore with them evidences of knowledge and technology so vastly different from that of the Eskimo they met, that a most profound impression of the power of the white people was inevitably created.

Further, it should be emphasized that white contact history with the Inuit has been dominated by an interest in transforming rather than adapting to the Inuit and their way of life (Brody, 1975). This theme will be reiterated throughout the following historical summary. The lesson to be appreciated is simple: whatever may be concluded about the effects of recent industrial employment on the economic, social, and cultural life of the Eastern Arctic Inuit, it should be remembered that this is not the first intrusion to transform traditional

lifestyles. The following summary of Inuit-white culture contact in the North Baffin region provides rich evidence in support of this conclusion.

The Initial Contact Period: Exploration

Bissett (1967:13) observes that "the work of the early explorers, while of interest to historians, contains only passing fragmentary information in respect to Eskimos of the North Baffin area. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile summarizing the available fragments because they provide a time frame in which to consider the culture contact history.

Norsemen were the first explorers to pass through the Eastern Arctic (Williamson, 1974; Crowe, 1974). The explorations of the region began as early as 1004 A.D. with Karlsefin landing on Baffin Island and continued sporadically during subsequent centuries. Though first, the Vikings, in all probability, stayed at most for a season or two and traded little with the natives. Consequently, Scandinavian contact had little substantial effect on the Inuit people and culture.

After these earliest contacts, little exploration of Baffin Island occurred until the early 1800's. The only significant historical benchmark between the Norsemen and the nineteenth century was William Baffin's entry into Lancaster Sound around 1616 (Baird and Robinson, 1945). Baffin's explorations led him to probe Arctic waters following a route north along the west coast of Greenland until he crossed Baffin Bay. After this early seventeenth century expedition, little exploratory activity occurred until the nineteenth

century and the renewed interest in discovering a Northwest Passage (Bissett, 1967).

The search for a Northwest Passage instigated a series of British naval expeditions. The first of these expeditions was undertaken in 1818 by John C. Ross (Baird and Robinson, 1945). Ross made landings on the east side of Bylot Island at Passion Bay and also discovered Pond Inlet, one of the two Inuit settlements to be studied by this research. Ross' expedition probably had very little, if any, contact with the natives of the region (Matthiasson, 1967). This conclusion, however, is difficult to verify because there is no available recorded documentation.

Ross' expeditions were followed by searches for the Northwest Passage by another British naval officer, Lt. W. Parry. With Parry's expedition comes the first recorded contact of north Baffin Inuit with whites. Matthiasson (1967:35) provides a description of Parry's influence in Iglulik in 1823:

> Even this (Parry's) early contact had an effect on Eskimos material culture, and possibly more profound influences. Presents of iron and needles were given to the Igluligmuit, and one old woman from Pond Inlet, who had been visiting in Iglulik at the time later recalled that, "when the white man's boat arrived at Iglulik, the Eskimos received biscuits and tabacco", how they could make the biscuits skip on the water and make them roll on the ground. As for the tobacco, they did not like its odor . . . .

Parry stopped at Pond Inlet the following year and, in Matthiasson's (1967) judgement, a similar type of contact probably occurred there.

In brief, although little recorded documentation of the effects of explorers initial contacts with the north Baffin Inuit exist, it seems reasonable to conclude that the explorers had at least a slight effect on Inuit material culture. Perhaps more important, however,

was the fact that the Inuit had contacted white men at all. These initial brief encounters left them less reticent about dealing with the whalers who were to follow.

The Whaling Period

The incursions by British explorers were followed by whalers into the Baffin region after 1820. Bissett (1967:31) describes their coming as follows:

> Scottish and English whalers had been working the Greenland coasts for centuries quickly followed the exploratory work of the British admiralty and pushed west into Lancaster Sound and Prince Regent Inlet in search of whales. The whalers arrived in Greenland waters in June and July arriving at Cape York and Whale Sound in mid-June or July. Then they crossed the "north waters" of Baffin Bay and entered Pond's Inlet at the end of July and the beginning of August.

As early as 1821 at least two of these whalers were wrecked on the Baffin coast some eighty miles south of Pond Inlet. There is no record of what happened to the crews of these vessels (Bissett, 1967), but it seems fair to conclude that much of the ships wreckage was probably incorporated by the Inuit. Early whaling, in this manner, probably supplemented the changes in Inuit material culture begun with the explorers.

During the ninety years following these initial wrecks, the North Baffin area became a popular region for whalers. The captain of the whaler Albert, James S. Mutch, provides an indication of the extent of the whaling operations in the area. He reports that, during the 1903 season, he encountered four other whaling ships in the immediate vicinity and heard news of another that had been lost (Mutch, 1906:487). These eight or nine decades of regular and

increasing contact with whalers had some significant impact on the local Inuit.

For one thing, some Inuit learned to barter and developed a conception of the white economic system. Mutch (1906:488) provides an illustration of what astute barterers some Pond Inlet people became as a result of whaler contact:

> The real Ponds Bay Eskimo had been coming and going all winter, trading a fox-skin when they had one, but always wanting nearly the home value for it or for anything they might bring. They had an idea that seal-skins were worth ten times more than what they were sold for on the London market . . . . When a bear skin was brought, though it was small, a telescope or a gun was asked for it. They are much like those who said, "If one never asks, one never gets". They all charged well for their goods, and had been accustomed to getting full value for seals-skins or for any other skins they ever took on board the whalers when they were there.

Contact with the whalers also probably affected the material and economic life of the Inuit. For instance, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, they were exposed for the first time to rifles, ammunition, and other trade goods which increased their interest in the ways of the white foreigners (Matthiasson, 1967). These amenities aided the traditional Inuit subsistence patterns and encouraged initial Inuit appreciation of white men (Matthiasson, 1967).

Like the explorers documents, the scanty and journalistic nature of the whalers reports make it difficult to determine precisely the extent and nature of the impact these white men had on the Inuit (Matthiasson, 1967). However, it seems reasonable to conclude from the available evidence that most Inuit on North Baffin Island had some direct or indirect contact with or knowledge about white men by 1910 (Bissett, 1967). For example, many new iron and wooden material objects entered the Inuit cultural system. As well, direct contact

with whalers, resulting from occasional work onboard ships (Tremblay, 1921) as well as sexual and social intercourse, exposed the Inuit to a non-material system quite foreign to their own. In summary, the changes introduced by the whalers left an imprint on the Inuit even after the whaling industry collapsed in the first decade of the twentieth century (Bissett, 1967). The Inuit of the region were well aware of many aspects of white culture when the next significant period in white-Inuit culture contact began.

The Golden Age of Trapping

In 1906 the Canadian government sent Captain Bernier, thirty men, and the C.G.S. Arctic on a sovereignty asserting voyage to the North Baffin region (Matthiasson, 1967). Bernier's comment on a New Year's Day celebration demonstrates that the region's Inuit had already received some extensive culture contact with the whites:

> The usual Sunday service was held . . . quite a number of Eskimos were present. During the day we received the visits of many natives, who came to wish us the compliments of the season; we entertained them suitably for the occasion. They seem to be more assured than they were when we first came into (Albert) harbour (a few miles from Pond Inlet), and they do not avoid us so much as they did then. Our way of living has evidently served as a good example to them, as they are not so wild and have better conduct all around (Bernier, 1909:39).

Further on in Bernier's account, he claims that the Inuit were also trading furs and fresh meat with whalers for such material goods as tea, molasses, sugar, tobacco, matches, knives, cooking utensils, ammunition, and clothing (Matthiasson, 1967:40). In short, then, even in the first decade of the twentieth century, North Baffin Inuit had experienced notable material and non-material contact with whites. From this period forward, however, culture contact with various white

agencies progressively reinforced the dependence of the Inuit on southern whites.

The Traders. More intensely than the whalers and the explorers, traders in the Eastern Arctic affected the Inuit traditional way of life (Crowe, 1974). The history of Inuit culture contact with this second wave of western whites is the story of increased dependence on western technology, and concurrently, increased exposure to western culture. Brody (1975:21-22) summarizes this trend:

> The traders systematically encouraged Eskimos to spend more time hunting animals with skins most highly prized in the southern market and less time hunting animals that merely offered a supply of food. This shift in hunting sometimes left the Inuit hungry, and it created a need for new equipment with which to trap. The imbalances that accompanied this shift were in some measure rectified by exchange: the hunter-become-trappers traded skins for food and new equipment, and thereby their dependence upon trading posts rapidly became acute.

In short, a principal influence of the traders was to cause the traditional subsistence economy of the Inuit to become dependent on trade.

Small trading posts were opened as early as 1903 at Pond Inlet. By 1913, Janes, a former member of Arctic expeditions in the region, was conducting regular trading operations with the Inuit while spending part of his time searching for gold. The latter pastime engaged several former explorers and whalers as they operated trading posts (Munn, 1932).

These original, small scale trading businesses became much larger as culture contact between Inuit and white expanded during the 1920's in the Baffin Island region. During the twenties the Hudson's Bay Company greatly expanded its trading activities in the high Arctic.

It bought out all the independent traders in the North Baffin area and established its own posts in many vicinities, including one at Pont Inlet in 1921 and at Arctic Bay in 1926 (Usher, 1971).

Again the available evidence makes it impossible to construct a complete socio-economic picture of trader activities. It is known, however, that the fur trade peaked during the late 1920's and early 1930's in the North Baffin region. For example, in the 1921 season, there were 318 white fox taken around Pond Inlet whose average market value was $35.26. The fox value and take gradually increased throughout the decade until 1929 when 3515 white fox were taken at an average price of $54.15 (Bissett, 1967). In other terms, the per capita income increased from about $20.00 to about $550.00 during the decade.

With this substantial change the Inuit became dependent upon traders for steel traps, rifles, boats, non-local foods, and a variety of other items (Hughes, 1964). Diamond Jenness (1964) makes the most general case of this point:

> The new barter economy - furs in exchange for the goods civilization - made life harder instead of easier, more complicated instead of more simple. The commercial world of the white man had caught the Eskimos in its mesh, destroyed their self-sufficiency and independence, and made them economically its slaves.

In brief, the fur trade established cross-cultural influences that made it impossible for the Inuit to return to their traditional lifeways. Tragically, it was just after the Inuit became economically dependent on western influences that the fur trade experienced a dramatic decline similar to that which previously occurred in the whaling industry. The demise of trapping in the North Baffin region is exemplified in the following figures. After its peak around 1930, trapping steadily

declined until, by 1940, only 833 fox were traded at Pond Inlet at an average price of $8.24. By 1952, the number was down to 536 at an average of $7.70 (Bissett, 1967). This dramatic slump decreased the per capita income from approximately $20.00 to approximately $12.00. Since the native northern economy still relied heavily on subsistence country foods (Usher, 1967), such a decline in the trading economy carried food replacement problems.

This kind of economic decline carried harsh social and economic consequences for the Inuit whose lifestyles had become intimately tied to the trading industry (Kleiven, 1966). As Brody (1975) tells us, it is hard to document the degree of Inuit dependence on the west at any given time between the beginning of the fur trade and its collapse. It is certain, however, that by 1950 the economic dependence of the Inuit was virtually total. Before describing the post-war history of Inuit-white culture contact, we must describe the impacts of two other agencies of culture contact, the missionaries and the R.C.M.P..

The Missionaries. Brody (1975:23) points out the parallels between the influences of the traders and the missionaries in the Eastern Arctic between 1900 and 1940:

> There is no doubt that this comprehensive attempt to incorporate Eskimos into the southern economic community created an unstable situation which, once disturbed, quickly produced hardship.
> During the same period, missionaries were engaged in an analogous endeavour. If the Hudson's Bay Company may be said to have established an economic serfdom, then the missionaries sought to establish a moral serfdom.

In many respects, the missionary ideological influence catered to the material influences being affected by the traders. The theme of change was toward one of dependence and incorporation into western lifestyles.

One book, The Eskimo Book of Knowledge (Binney, et. al., 1931), was translated for Inuit use by missionaries and contains a conclusion that exemplifies the desired self image of dependence on white westerners:

> Take heed, Innuit, for the future will bring even greater changes than have taken place in your country in the past twenty years. There will be white trappers who will trap the foxes out of your country; strange ships will visit your harbours and strange traders will come among you seeking only your furs. Many white men will explore your lands in search of precious rocks and minerals. These traders and these trappers and these wanderers are like the drift-ice; today they will come with the wind, tomorrow they are gone with the wind. Of these strangers some will be fairer than others, as is the nature of men; but whosoever they be, they cannot at heart possess that deep understanding of your lives through which our traders have learned to bestow the care of a father upon you and upon your children (Binney, et. al., 1931:234).

On the east coast of Baffin Island, missionary activity which reinforced Inuit incorporation of a foreign ideological system, in a manner similar to the traders reinforcement of a foreign economic system, was first established by the Church of England in 1928. Morice (1943:52) reports that the missionary activity on North Baffin Island reinforced the local traders belief that "only religion could make the Eskimos good hunters, men of action, and honest enough to pay their debts". It was not until a year later, 1929, that both the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries arrived at Pond Inlet to establish missions that have existed there ever since. In Arctic Bay an Oblate mission was established in 1937 and was in operation until 1960 (Usher, 1971).

The missionaries on North Baffin Island were energetic evangelists. Especially among the Anglican missionaries, proselytizing efforts took them on extended trips throughout the countryside to visit Inuit camps (Morice, 1943). This active evangelism, combined

with the syllabic translation of the Bible, provided a significant culture contact experience. For example, Morice (1943:174) reports that in the first year 22 Inuit were baptized, quite an impressive record considering that the Inuit population began as geographically and spiritually distinct from the missionaries.

As with all other early contacts, it is impossible to trace the exact impact of missionary contact with North Baffin Inuit. In brief, however, it seems fair to conclude that the missionary activities effectively introduced a competing value system into the traditional animistic shaman-based religious system of the Inuit (Jenness, 1964). The Inuit acquired the new religious orientation in a very brief period - all were converted by 1940 (Matthiasson, 1967) - but learned their lessons well. Even today, religious activity takes up a significant proportion of native time (Matthiasson, 1967).

The R.C.M.P.. During the golden age of trapping between the World Wars, a third contact agency, the R.C.M.P., increased its influence on the North Baffin Inuit. This agency, along with the missionaries and the traders, composed the influential troika often discussed by northern observers (Jenness, 1964).

R.C.M.P activity on North Baffin Island was generally introduced after a 1920 Reindeer and Musk Ox Commission report to the federal government. This report directed the government to take immediate steps to protect both the natives and the big game in the far North. Trading companies, British and foreign, were establishing posts and sending expeditions into the region, and it seemed expedient to have the Canadian government represented on the ground by members of the

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Craig, 1923:8).

An R.C.M.P. post was established at Pond Inlet in the early 1930's following the investigation of the murder of a regional trader (Brody, 1975). Increased culture contact resulting from trader activity, in turn, instigated further culture contact, via the R.C.M.P., to monitor the changes that were in progress. All this activity increased Inuit exposure to the modes and technology of the western world (Matthiassen, 1928), and encouraged Inuit adoption and imitation of white ways.

The R.C.M.P. on North Baffin, like those in outposts everywhere, carried out an impressive variety of functions. Van Norman, an R.C.M.P. officer, describes his duties:

> At the post the RCMP is the only Government department stationed, and consequently upon its personnel fall the duties which other Government departments require performed. Family allowance and old age pension administration, reporting on game conditions, registration of births, deaths, and marriages, post office, issuing coal mining permits, collecting royalties on exporting furs, issuing general hunting licenses, recording weather, plus the normal duties involving enforcement of the Northwest Territories Ordinances and Criminal Code, patrolling by dog teams to various Eskimo camps to determine native living conditions, and such remaining duties which the Government deems advisable to enforce (Van Norman, 1951:111).

This quote supports the conclusion drawn by other northern observers (Crowe, 1974), that the R.C.M.P., like other agencies of the northern troika, promoted and extended a variety of foreign southern services and values onto northern native people.

The Era of Federal Government Intervention

As previously mentioned, Inuit throughout the Arctic had experienced economic disaster by the close of World War II (Jenness, 1964).

The bottom dropped out of the fur market and, in many northern areas throughout the 1940's, there was widespread starvation (Hughes, 1964). The starvation, especially prevalent among the Caribou Eskimos west of Hudson's Bay, received widespread publicity through the popular writings of men like Mowat (1951, 1959). For humanitarian and sovereignty reasons the Canadian government became aware of their neglect in the Canadian Arctic and, after the War, began an active interest in that region (Hughes, 1964).

The economic situation among the Inuit of North Baffin was not quite as severe as that of the Caribou Eskimos. The crisis was much alleviated in this region because marine mammals were usually available in the arctic waters (Brody, 1975). It is fair to conclude, however, that the North Baffin Inuit after 1940 were considerably poorer than they had been during the heyday of trapping. In short, since the turn of the century the Eastern Arctic Inuit had had their territory, economy, value and legal systems progressively transformed to a status dependent on that of western whites. With the fall of the fur trade even the little independence that natives had within the western dominated system disappeared (Hughes, 1964).

After World War II, the federal government, recognizing the depressed situation in the Eastern Arctic, took a committed interest in northern native peoples (Brody, 1975). In doing so, the federal government became one of the continuing progression of southern white agencies which increased native dependence to a way of life that was detached and foreign to the Inuit (Jenness, 1964).

The Inuit of North Baffin responded to federal government

intervention in a pattern that was essentially the same among natives throughout the Arctic. First, efficient administration of the government subsidized programmes brought people off the land and concentrated them, as never before, into settlements (Graburn and Strong, 1973). For example, Bissett (1967) documents that the first census for counting and recording natives in the Pond Inlet area was established in 1941. Within the following decade, significant stabilization of Inuit around and in the settlement had occurred as family allowances were initiated by the government and administered by the local R.C.M.P. (Hughes, 1965).

By these programmes, the federal government established itself as a major instrument of Inuit culture change. Associated with the effective severance of the people's bond to the land through population concentration and stabilization were a variety of other programmes which furthered culture change (Graburn and Strong, 1973).

Since World War II, the nature and variety of government programmes to aid and, consequently, change the Inuit have been manifold. Some of the programmes which followed family allowances included new housing (Thomas and Thompson, 1972), schooling (Hobart and Brant, 1966; Robinson, 1974), medical facilities (Simpson, 1953), as well as economic, social, and political development programmes (Brody, 1975). The detailed effects of each of these post-War programmes have been summarized elsewhere (Roberts, 1976) and here it is sufficient to note, with Brody (1975:31), that "whites in the North have always been intent on causing change; in realizing these changes, they have dominated the Eskimos, and continue to do so". In their general effect the federal government programmes are no different from those initiated by other

agencies before it. These programmes whittled at traditional Inuit lifestyles and, though often effecting positive changes, nonetheless transformed the Inuit social and cultural systems so that their future is closely linked to that of western whites.

Conclusion

To this point the chapter has presented a brief history of the major generators of culture contact and change among the Eastern Arctic Inuit. Especially during this century, it is evident that whalers, traders, missionaries, and governments have all initiated significant changes in traditional Inuit culture. Whether these changes have or have not been desirable or moral is open to question (Roberts, 1976). The fact remains that significant changes have occurred among the Baffin Island Inuit because of their history of contact with western whites.

To appreciate that traditional Eastern Inuit culture has seen important changes in the past century is important. However, this conclusion should not be distorted so that it gives the impression that present Inuit culture is not substantially different from that of southern Canadians (Brody, 1975). The following section emphasizes this point by describing some of the salient aspects of the post-War Inuit socio-cultural system.

SOME ENDURING INUIT CHARACTERISTICS

Matthiasson (1967) in his study of North Baffin Inuit during the 1960's describes the situation of the people:

> The culture . . . may be described as contact-traditional. The term seems appropriate in that in many respects the culture of the camp continues in the pattern of the pre-contact structure

> although the participants are irrevocably enmeshed in EuroCanadian culture. The people of today have outboard motors instead of kayaks, use rifles in place of harpoons, eat bannock as a staple, and attend church services every Sunday morning. Nevertheless, they still make their living as hunters and fishers, respect traditional obligations of sharing and hospitality, and generally identify psychologically as Eskimos (Matthiasson, 1967:76 - emphasis added).

Matthiasson's observation exemplifies the point that modern Inuit are a people who continue to portray characteristics of their traditional culture.

Williamson (1969) has demonstrated that the salient characteristics of the modern Inuit socio-cultural system can be cogently summarized by describing those values which persist within the Inuit tradition. Employing Williamson's framework, this section will summarize the important values persisting among the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic. In doing so, this section will demonstrate that post-War Inuit people, for all the change they have experienced in the past century, are still quite distinguishable from southern Canadians.

Seniority - Williamson points out that, within the Inuit value system, authority and seniority are virtually synonomous. The Inuit continue to place a high value on the authority of older men and women. In traditional times, the senior members of the group were repositories of wisdom whose advice was often necessary for survival. The importance of this value persists today in the social organization of the Inuit.

Sharing - In traditional times, when game availability was unreliable, no hunter could count on invariably having food for his family. In response to this environmental constraint, the Inuit placed a high value on sharing whatever was available. Williamson claims that this value is still very evident in the communalistic manners of modern Inuit.

Family - A third value which continues to hold an important place in the Inuit system of orientation focuses on the solidarity and perpetuation of one's family. From this value on family solidarity comes this institution's continuing importance as the central social and economic unit. The Inuit emphasis on family perpetuation characterizes itself in the strong affection, attachment, and attention that exists toward the children of Inuit families.

Frankness - Lying and evasiveness were traits that were simply not functional in a hunting society composed of small interdependent groupings. As Williamson (1969:8) points out:

> In so intimate a face-to-face society, lack of frankness would be the source of social strain, in that people become so familiar with each other that an attempt to hide something is virtually impossible.

Williamson's recent studies (1974) have demonstrated that the value of frankness still persists among post-War Inuit peoples.

Acceptance - Acceptance, in the Inuit case, refers to a value attached to "resignation or acceptance of vicissitudes" (Williamson, 1969:18). In an environment as harsh as that inhabited by traditional Inuit people, it was functional not to squander valuable personal resources resenting, complaining, or worrying about a fate largely out of one's personal control. As a result, the Inuit culture adopted an attitude of acceptance of those hardships not directly controllable. This form of stoicism persists as a defining characteristic of the Inuit cultural system into present times.

Withdrawal - As previously noted, the environment inhabited in traditional times was not efficiently exploited if personal energies were vented in frustrated contacts between group members. Recognizing

this constraint, the Inuit adopted a cultural posture where physical or emotional conflict was rare. In those circumstances where conflict was anticipated, it became functional to withdraw from the situation rather than promote confrontation.

Respect - Various conditions in traditional Inuit times promoted the importance of "respect" in the Inuit value system. Living in small, intimate groupings where privacy was rare perpetuated the persistence of this value. In addition, the Inuit environment and cosmology were tied to the idea that disastrous consequences followed if spirits deserving respect were not paid their dues. Under such a set of precarious conditions, the Inuit ideological system emphasized the importance of respect.

The point of this summary of salient persisting value characteristics is that the modern Inuit, despite their history of culture contact that has significantly affected many areas of their life, still maintain a residue of traditional culture. Although contemporary Inuit are dependently tied to various southern white agencies, they do so in a manner that derives from their own cultural heritage (Matthiasson and Matthiasson, 1975).

COMMUNITY PROFILES

Introduction

Prior to 1965 the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay did not constitute formal communities (Bissett, 1967). On the present sites of these centers there were a Hudson's Bay store, R.C.M.P. detachment, and an Anglican and a Roman Catholic mission. The Inuit

population permanently residing in these settlements was small. Most natives remained in hunting camps between fifty and one hundred miles from the settlements (Matthiasson, 1967). The majority of the Inuit came to the settlements principally to obtain supplies while most of their life was tied to the land (Wilkinson, 1955).

By the late 1960's this camp way of life had virtually ceased to exist (Matthiasson, 1975). One anthropologist who had lived in one of the last hunting camps in the Pond Inlet area in the early 1960's describes the changes occurring during ensuing years:

> In the intervening decade the Inuit of Pond Inlet had experienced what were almost cataclysmic changes. During the earlier period almost all of them lived "on the land", making their living from seal hunting and trap lines . .... By 1973 the camps were virtual ghost towns, visited only by the occasional week-end hunter (Matthiasson and Matthiasson, 1975:2).

Matthiasson goes on to document the factors that led to this rapid transition from a hunting camp to a sedentary settlement way of life:

> A number of factors have contributed to what became a virtually complete migration of the people into the settlement. For example, the building of a school brought children into the settlement, and their parents were not long in following them. A new, federally provided housing programme, although initially planned for the hunting camps, took place in the settlement, and those who wished to take advantage of it were forced to leave the land. New non-traditional employment opportunities for men added to the incentive to move to town.

These factors, together with the establishment of nursing stations, all led to the massive shift in Inuit lifestyles (Hughes, 1964).

Behind all of this centralization was a sustained increase in federal government intervention in the Eastern Arctic. Government funds created the nursing stations, the housing, the schools, and most of the employment that attracted the Inuit to settlements like Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay (Bissett, 1967; Hawthorn, et. al., 1973). This

government sponsored centralization can be interpreted as yet another step in the historical process toward increased native dependence of white, foreign institutions (Brody, 1975). Nonetheless, the changes occurring throughout the 1960's created a new set of conditions and required some basic changes in Inuit lifestyles.

A Point of View

In order to appreciate the descriptions of the pre-wage employment Inuit communities, it is important to understand the context in which these conditions occurred (Brody, 1975). In the community profiles which follow, evaluative statements about the communities are made. Like all judgements, those made in later sections are based on a particular model or point of view. It is important to understand the point of view from which evaluations are made so that meaningful interpretations can be made.

As previous sections have demonstrated, the post-War Eastern Arctic Inuit experienced extensive changes promoted principally by federal government policies (Hughes, 1964). Many of these changes, as the community profiles which follow will demonstrate, left the newly established settlements in a state of economic disarray. From the point of view taken in this section, this disarray was principally due to the recognition that traditional economic forms of the Inuit were no longer functional for sustaining a viable economic future. In short, the North Baffin Inuit found themselves in a position where they could no longer go back to their traditional ways and, at the same time, were unlikely to be able to continue to live in a government sponsored situation. From the point of view of this section, some

form of acculturation seemed an inevitable alternative.

The fact that traditional Inuit forms were not completely adequate for their survival is acknowledged by almost all observers. For example, academic observers like Roberts (1973:11) claim that ". . . the old days are gone anyway. Not even the desirable parts can be brought back." A similar sentiment with respect to the economic sufficiency of old native cultural forms is expressed by government officials (Stevenson, 1969). Even the Inuit themselves seem to have acknowledged this condition by their influx into the settlements and effective break with the hunting tradition (Hughes, 1964; Matthiasson, 1975). It is the judgement of this section that, during the 1960's, not only were traditional Inuit economic forms acknowledged as inadequate, but so was the condition of near complete government sponsorship that existed in the late sixties. The belief that the newly settled Inuit were necessarily going to have to lessen their economic dependence on government through development is credible for at least three reasons.

First, the federal government has stated that it was not its policy to continually subsidize the native people; even though they, in many respects, were the agency which initially promoted the native dependence (Roberts, 1976). Previously quoted statements by federal government Northern Affairs Ministers demonstrates this fact (Lesage, 1955; Chretien, 1972).

A second reason why the Inuit were probably faced with the necessity of becoming more acculturated interacts with the first. Specifically, as energy demands in southern Canada eventually

increased, industrial interests were bound to move into the north (Berg, 1973). With federal government policy promoting the assimilation of natives into pulling their own economic weight in Canadian society, industrial interests were eventually going to feel the pressure to integrate some natives into their labour forces.

The third reason for believing that pressure for an increased degree of acculturation was bound to occur among the Inuit derives from the people themselves. The northern educational system was premised on a curriculum of cultural replacement (Hobart and Brant, 1966). This type of schooling has increased the proportion of young Inuit with aspirations and expectations similar to those found in southern Canada. This is demonstrated in surveys reported by Smith (1975) and Bissett (1967). Because the young Inuit constituted such a large proportion of the population (Bissett, 1967), their increased aspirations would eventually find fulfillment only in some social and economic form other than that existing in the late sixties.

At least these three reasons support the point of view that the future of the Inuit people in the Eastern Arctic probably lay in a direction of greater economic independence and acculturation. It is from this point of view that the evaluations formed from the community descriptions which follow are made.

The General Situation

The fundamental population problem as it relates to economic development among the Inuit of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay is the same one found in all Eastern Arctic communities. Freeman succinctly states the difficulty:

> Some people argue that less developed regions having large land areas and small populations (e.g. Brazil, Newfoundland, and the N.W.T.) are in no way faced with a population problem, unless it be too few people. However, the crucial factor is not density of people, but too great a ratio of people to capital resources. This imbalance can be remedied by increasing capital, usually through borrowing or attracting investment, but to convert these potential gains into actual increases in wealth takes time, as well as skill. The question for underdeveloped regions therefore becomes one of growth of capital versus growth of population, and because of the accelerating demands in these regions today for improved education, health, communication, housing, and other material facilities, a rapid rate of population growth generally prevents any successful attempt to remedy the prevailing unfortunate economic situation (Freeman, 1971:215-216 - emphasis added).

Later developments in this chapter demonstrate that this is a precise description of the population and economic situation in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay during the late 1960's.

A variety of changes are generally associated with depressed economic conditions like those found in the North Baffin Island Inuit communities (Freeman, 1971). Death rates decline markedly because of the availability of modern health facilities. Traditional birth rates remain high and, consequently, the rate of population growth is rapid. Under these demographic circumstances greater and greater amounts of capital are required to expand the available health, housing, and administrative facilities to the rapidly growing population. Socially, this rapid modernization produces new environments and pressures which erode many traditional beliefs and practices. Lifestyles, statuses, and normative standards change within the community, especially for the young who are most adaptive to the modernizing influences. Prior to 1971, these are just the conditions that existed in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay.

Population. With respect to population, per se, the pre-wage

employment situation in these two arctic communities was noteworthy in two respects - the rate of growth and the age distribution of the populations. Under conditions of rapidly declining death rates, the rate of birth becomes the principal determinant of those population characteristics most relevant to social and economic development (Thomlinson, 1967:15). Age composition, the other relevant demographic characteristic, is important because it determines the "dependency ratio" of producers to consumers. Where there are too many dependents, the communities find it difficult to mobilize the capital necessary for rapid economic development to occur (Freeman, 1971). These two important demographic features are, of course, related. Under conditions of negligible in-or-out migration like those found in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, the age composition of the settlements is principally determined by fertility (Shryock and Siegel, 1973).

In examining the first of these demographic features, rate of growth of the populations of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, it is useful to look at a more precise indicator than the crude rate. The crude rate of birth, used comparatively, neglects to account for the varying number of women at reproductive ages in different populations (Barclay, 1958). The fertility ratio, a measure of births to women in the reproductive ages, is a more useful measure.

According to the United Nation Demographic Yearbook in the 1960's, the most fertile human population in the world was the Hutterites with a fertility ratio of 092.6. Freeman (1971) demonstrates that two urbanized Eastern Arctic settlements, Frobisher Bay and Cape Dorset, easily exceeded this ratio during the 1960's. Their fertility

ratios were 330 and 299 respectively. As Table 2 demonstrates, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay also averaged ratios higher than the Hutterites for the ten year period 1961 to 1970.

Table 2

Fertility Ratios for Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, N.W.T.: 1961-1970

	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
1961	375	189
1962	196	189
1963	255	220
1964	356	214
1965	299	130
1966	127	318
1967	271	240
1968	213	196
1969	266	250
1970	143	118
Average	250	206

Source: Calculated from R.C.M.P. Disc Lists

One disadvantage of such extraordinary fertility ratios is that populations grow very rapidly. Table 3 shows that both Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet experienced increases of between 42 and 67 per cent during the ten year period. The magnitude of these increases are manifest when compared to Canada's proportionate growth which was 17 per cent during the same period, even with substantial immigration.

Another disadvantage of such high fertility rates is the resulting high proportion of producers to consumers. Barclay (1958:267) demonstrates that the per cent of the population between ages 15 and 64

Table 3

Per Cent Increases in Population for Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Vicinities, 1961-1970

	1961 Population	1970 Population	Per Cent Population Increase
Pond Inlet	249	415	67
Arctic Bay	180	256	42

Source: Calculated from R.C.M.P. Disc Lists

is a good indicator of economically developed areas. Usually areas which are economically well-off have over 60 per cent of their population in the "producing" ages of 15 through 64. This is in contrast to the demographic situation of communities like Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. As Table 4 demonstrates, these communities have dependency indicators significantly lower than the 60 per cent found in economically developed regions.

Table 4

Proportion of the Population in the "Producing" Ages 15 to 64 in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, N.W.T.,1961

	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
Total Population	249	180
Population Aged 15-64 Years	117	86
Per Cent Population Ages 15-64 Years	46.9	47.7

Source: Compiled from R.C.M.P. Disc Lists

In brief, on two important population indices, growth rate and age distribution, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay were in a serious economic situation prior to 1971. Assuming that these regions would eventually be interested in economic development, the situation may be described as serious because these communities conformed to the population profile of economically underdeveloped regions throughout the world (Freeman, 1971). The sections which follow demonstrate that the economic and social status of these communities reinforces the underdeveloped profile presented in this section.

Economic Situation. A variety of economic changes are associated with the kind of transformation North Baffin Inuit experienced during the 1960's. First, when the Inuit from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay began to settle permanently in the communities, they experienced a predictable decline in traditional hunting and trapping activity. Table 5 demonstrates the situation for Pond Inlet.

Table 5

Per Cent Income from Various Sources for Pond Inlet, N.W.T.: 1956 and 1963

	1956	1963
Fur and Seal	35%	21%
Transfer Payments	32%	27%
Wages and Other	33%	52%

Source: Compiled from Area Economic Survey (Bissett, 1967)

This table shows that the proportionate income derived from more traditional pursuits like hunting and trapping decreased from a third to less than a quarter as the Inuit began to settle in the community.

A second economic characteristic of settlement natives is evident in Table 5. The fact that the Inuit received only about half of their income from wages demonstrates the chronic under employment in this and other North Baffin regions. In Pond Inlet, the severity of this lack of employment promoted a government sponsored relocation programme for a few Inuit to Resolute and Grise Fiord in 1960 (Bissett, 1967).

It is also worthy to note that although the proportion of income derived from wage employment increased as the Inuit moved to live in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay (Table 5), the per capita income in these communities remained extraordinarily low (Table 6).

Table 6

Annual Per Capita Income

Arctic Bay (1966)	$220.00
Pong Inlet (1963)	$222.00

Source: Calculated from an Area Economic Survey of North Baffin Island, N.W.T. (Bissett, 1967)

In the late 1960's, many Inuit living in the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay had some experience with industrial wage employment. For example, until 1967 about eleven Inuit were employed on a sporadic basis in iron exploration at Mary River (Bissess, 1967).

As the annual per capita income figures in Table 6 suggest, however, the Inuit experience did little to raise their economic situation.

In the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay there was little employment available throughout the 1960's. In a 1967 report, Bissett remarks that there was permanent wage employment for less than 15 per cent of the working aged males in the communities (Bissett, 1967). Further, the principal employer within the settlements were federal government agencies. This limited access to permanent employment encouraged, among other things, a feeling of greater dependence by the Inuit on the government which was already supplying and administering most of the other services in the settlements (Brody, 1975). This situation dovetails with the historical trend toward increased dependence on foreign agencies documented earlier in this chapter.

Social Trends. During the 1960's, the expectations of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Inuit were rapidly rising (Matthiasson, 1975). This was especially true among the young people who composed a significant proportion of the population and who were exposed to a southern, white education. For example, Bissett (1967:132-133) produced a table showing the aspirations of a sample of Pond Inlet youth during the late 1960's. This sample indicated that one hundred per cent of the youth had job expectations and aspirations oriented in non-traditional directions. These increasing aspirations, when combined with the lack of employment opportunities to satisfy new expectations, often produce individual frustration and social disorientation.

The structure of unsatisfied expectations is apparent throughout many developing regions of the world (Davies, 1962). This pattern

encourages frustration which was as evident in the communities of Baffin Island as anywhere. Yatsushiro (1962:21-22) found the kind of frustrated ambivalence this type of marginal state encourages in his study of one Baffin Island settlement:

> Also a majority agreed that the Eskimos in Frobisher Bay were leading a better life now than twenty years ago . . .. And when asked to choose between full time wage employment and full time hunting, the Eskimo responses indicated great ambivalence . . .. The above response pattern is significant in that it brings into sharp focus a major predicament confronting Eskimos in wage employment. This has to do with the Eskimo worker's need to reconcile, on the one hand, the necessity (as he views it) to hunt and thereby procure sufficient seal meat and other native foods to maintain himself and his family, and on the other, his desire to continue in wage employment and thereby earn enough money to purchase motor boats, guns, ammunition, and many other western goods of which he and his people have come to be fond.

One of Brody's (1975:167) respondent's expresses similar sentiments:

> Now it is not too bad in the settlement, but I was happier in the camp, only coming here to buy the things we needed. Sometimes I regret the move. In the camp there was no rent to pay.

The social changes experienced as the Inuit moved into the settlements and increasingly contacted western facilities manifested itself in several ways. For example, distinctions in the social status of those who were of the land and those who were of the settlements became socially divisive (Vallee, 1962). White dominated educational institutions also produced cultural and social divisions between young more modern Inuit and their older more traditional parents (Roberts, 1974). As well, political control of the government sponsored and operated settlements shifted to government appointed area administrators (Sprachmann, 1974). In many respects the social situation of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay was similar to that of most other Eastern Arctic communities. Brody (1975:167) provides a clear description

of the situation:

> Most observers feel that great pressure was put on the Eskimos to move, that the whites were anxious to draw people into the settlements. The pressures were informal and diverse, both as attractions (medical services, housing, proximity to store and church) and threats (no camp schools, illness in the camps). Once made, the central feature of the move was a new relationship to Whites and their institutions; to move was acknowledgment both of the Eskimos' dependence on the Whites' goods and services, and White hegemony over social, economic, and moral life. The move was made in full consciousness that, whereas camp life offered privacy and some sense of integrity and independence, settlement life must be lived under White domination---this consciousness at once described the terms of settlement life and assumed that the fundamental responsibility for them was in the hands of White administrators.

From the historical picture presented earlier in this chapter, it is evident that the Inuit of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay during the late sixties is part of an historical trend. The progressive dependence of the Inuit way of life on that of western whites, caused by increasing culture contact, was only accelerated with the congregation of the natives into settlements.

A CONCLUSION

In many respects, the situation of the Inuit in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in the late 1960's was not economically encouraging. This judgement, of course, is made from the perspective that views some type of development in the Arctic as eventually necessary. This lack of economic promise in the settlements was principally related to the demographic situation.

The section on population pointed out that during the 1960's Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay and extraordinarily high fertility rates and, consequently, a large proportion of their population in the

younger age categories. Such a demographic situation had important implications for the foreseeable economic future of these communities, especially where much of the economic and social welfare of the communities was subsidized by government. The example of housing illustrates the point.

Virtually all Inuit housing in the Eastern Arctic is supplied by the government with insignificant rental payments from the occupants. The costs of services to the houses are also very heavily subsidized. Given this situation, it is enlightening to realize how the demographic structure of the Inuit population affected the Eskimo Rental Housing Programme which began in 1965. Freeman (1971:226) describes the situation:

> It was confidently forecast that a projected capital investment of $12.5 million spread over 5 years would end the totally inadequate housing situation in the Arctic. However, after an allotted 5 years the federal government authorities admitted failure of the programme and estimate that it would require an additional $250 million to complete.

This poor projection occurred because the government failed to note the tremendous proportion of young persons about to demand housing (Hawthorn, et. al., 1972).

The demographic structure in Eastern Arctic communities foreshadowed similar dramatic cost expenditures to maintain government funded health, welfare, and educational services for the Inuit. When considering this costly economic future, it should be remembered that the tremendous pressures latent in the Inuit population structure had not, in the late 1960's, become apparent. The infant mortality rate among the Inuit at that time was five times the national average. As this rate is reduced it will further exaggerate the population profiles

of the Inuit. Bissett (1967:200) realistically assessed the probable future of these two settlements as it existed at the end of the last decade:

> One is forced to look on both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay as "holding" communities, lacking real economic potential. Hopefully, a large part of the younger segments of the population will be encouraged to look elsewhere for employment and residence . . .. The main alternative to "holding" communities with limited economic potentials for economic development appears to be phasing out of small settlements.

This was the situation before 1970. Shortly afterward, Pan Arctic Oils began providing permanent employment opportunities for a large proportion of the Inuit in these settlements. This development provided an alternative to the government subsidized future of the communities.

Chapter 4

THE WAGE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME

A Note on Sources

The descriptive presentation of this chapter comes primarily from three sources. A first source of information are participant observations made by the author while visiting in the northern employment sites during 1974. Second, a number of interviews were conducted with various officials of the Pan Arctic operation and their expediters. Finally, some of the information contained in the chapter was derived from or checked against a few existing written documents concerning the oil company's northern operations (Gourdeau, 1973; Brody, 1975).

Employers

The Inuit employees examined in this study were hired by Pan Arctic Oils or one of their affiliated contractor firms. Pan Arctic Oils, a consortium of several companies and the Canadian federal government, is engaged in oil exploration activity in the Canadian Arctic. The federal government interest in Pan Arctic is slightly under fifty per cent and the company has large holdings of exploration rights in the Eastern and High Arctic. The central office of Pan Arctic is in Calgary, Alberta.

Although the Inuit employment programme is under the continuing auspices of Pan Arctic, most of the natives were employed by one of the expediting companies employed by Pan Arctic. These expediters

have their home offices in Edmonton, Alberta and, in the Arctic, provide the support staff for the various construction and maintenance jobs associated with a large northern drilling operation. In the past five years native workers have been employed by at least two different expediting firms working in affiliation with the Pan Arctic operation.

Programme Initiation and Background

Pan Arctic began exploratory drilling in the high Eastern Arctic during the season of 1968-69. The next year a serious drilling programme was initiated on various Arctic islands.

Oil companies drilling throughout the world often attempt to hire some local inhabitants to assist in their drilling operations. Presumably there are a variety of reasons for the oil companies adopting such a posture. One possibility includes the financial saving if local rather than imported labour can be employed in many of the unskilled positions. A second possibility is the public relations value of employing local help. For whatever reasons, during the first drilling season, Pan Arctic employed one or two Inuit workers as unskilled labourers in their operations. From the available scanty evidence, it seems that these Inuit employees turned in quite respectable job performances.

Late in the initial 1969-70 drilling season Pan Arctic was approached by the Department of Northern Affairs in the federal government about the possibility of instituting a larger scale Inuit employment programme in their drilling operations. Since the federal government was the largest single shareholder and also had an interest in promoting native economic development in the North, it seems

reasonable that their interests in approaching Pan Arctic were salient and ameliorative. In any case, the respectable job performances of the Inuit workers throughout the previous season made the federal government idea seem reasonable and worth exploring.

In an attempt to initiate the Inuit employment programme, a first set of meetings between Pan Arctic and the Northern Affairs Department were held during the spring of 1970 at Yellowknife. Settlement managers from Spence Bay, Cambridge Bay, Gjoa Haven, and Pelly Bay were in attendance at this initial meeting. The purpose of this discussion was to explore the possibilities of recruiting crews of native workers from one or more of these settlements.

To initiate the native employment programme, Pan Arctic was interested in finding an Inuit labour pool with two attributes. First, the labour pool had to be sufficient to supply 24 men on the job throughout the winter drilling season. Because the rotation period for these workers would be 20 days on the job and ten days at home, a minimum pool of 36 workers was necessary. In fact, it was anticipated that the pool would have to be somewhat larger than 36 because, for a variety of reasons, some native workers would undoubtedly not wish to return to work regularly after only ten days at home. The second attribute that Pan Arctic was looking for when deciding upon which settlement to hire Inuit workers from was distance. Because Pan Arctic was responsible for transporting Inuit employees both to and from the employment operation, they were interested in the most convenient possible location from a logistical point of view.

After the Yellowknife discussion it was decided that none of

the settlements in attendance at the meetings could satisfactorily comply with both of the labour pool attributes Pan Arctic was interested in. Therefore, a second set of meetings was arranged in the Eastern Arctic.

The second exploratory meeting was held shortly after the first in Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island. Besides Pan Arctic and the federal government representatives, settlement managers from Grise Fjord, Clyde River, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay attended. After some discussion, it was decided that the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay could adequately supply the necessary labour requirements and, since they were about 600 miles from the work site, they were reasonable logistical choices.

After it was settled that Inuit workers from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay would be involved in the employment programme, little else in the way of organizing the programme was discussed. Pan Arctic was, in effect, left to recruit workers and administer the employment programme as they saw fit.

Pan Arctic was interested in instituting the employment programme as soon as possible. Therefore they did not bother to seek the advice of social scientists or interested others in setting up their programme. Because Pan Arctic was the first oil company to engage in an Inuit employment programme in their drilling operations, they were unable to gain from the experiential advice of other companies who may have preceded them. In short, the recruitment and administration of the Pan Arctic Inuit employment programme was based principally on a trial and error method; a method not as conducive as

some possible alternatives to smooth functioning of the programme.

For example, the settlement councils of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay were not involved in the design of the programme. Instead, Pan Arctic took the initiative to fly a representative of their personnel department into the settlements where he held a meeting for all who were interested. During the initial meeting the Pan Arctic representative briefly explained the conditions of employment and proceeded to solicit applications from interested Inuit workers. It should be noted that all this occurred during the first contact between the oil company and the people of the settlement. The briefing of the community was not a detailed one and there was no orientation programme on the job sites to prepare supervisors for the incoming crew of unprepared Inuit workers.

Nonetheless, in December 1970, Pan Arctic made its first flight into the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay to pick up their new employees. Prior to this first work rotation, Pan Arctic had made one arrangement within the communities to facilitate the recruitment of their Inuit employees. They had hired a senior male Inuk in each of the communities as an expediter. It was this man's job to be sure that the necessary number of Inuit employees were ready and waiting in his community when the plane arrived to take workers away for their employment period.

On the first day of employment, when the planes landed in each of the communities, the expediter had done his job; the men were ready and waiting in their Sunday best clothes for employment on the oil exploration rig sites! This anecdote serves as an illustration of just how little the Inuit workers understood what they were signing

up for when they were hired on with Pan Arctic. Nonetheless the Inuit workers boarded the plane and were flown to their new place of employment.

Pan Arctic's personnel director, who accompanied the new Inuit employees on their first work rotation, reports that the native workers were well received on initial contact with southern white rig workers. Most of the Inuit workers were quiet and cautious in their approach to both the work and other workers. A few Inuit were even outgoing and humorous in their approach to the new physical and social environment. In addition, the performance of Inuit workers was reported to be satisfactory. In brief, for the most part, the new Inuit workers showed themselves as eager and quick learners.

Logistics

The Inuit employment programme was established so that it was similar to Pan Arctic's operations for southern employees. The procedure was to fly the workers into their respective employment sites for a period of 20 days work. After the working period the men were flown back to their homes for a break of ten days; afterward they returned to the work site for another 20 day rotation period.

As mentioned previously, in each community Pan Arctic had hired an expediter. In instances where a regular native employee was sick, on holiday, or for some other reason did not make his regular employment rotation, it was the expediter's job to find a satisfactory replacement. In effect, then, Pan Arctic drew their native employees from a pool of natives within each of the communities. Pan Arctic hoped that a regular group of natives would rotate on each employment period. However, where one or more members did not wish to make a given rotation, they

they were excused and in no jeapardy of sacrificing future employment opportunities. The expediter simply found replacements for those workers who did not want to work a given rotation.

Employment Conditions

When on the job for their 20 day work period, most Inuit were employed by an expediting firm rather than with Pan Arctic. This meant that most native workers were employed as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers on construction or maintenance jobs. It was not Pan Arctic's idea to train or offer employment to Inuit workers on the drilling rigs themselves. In all cases Inuit employees worked either in the operations base camp at Rae Point on Melville Island or in one of the rig sites up to 100 miles from the base operation.

On all of the sites where natives were employed, they received exactly the same treatment as southern white employees. For example, they received the same pay for the same work even though, in the beginning, the Inuit performance on any given job was less efficient than the more experienced white employees. Inuit employees lived in the same quarters, had the same types of rooms, and worked the same schedules as their white counterparts.

It is worth noting that the room, board, and recreational facilities in these northern work sites are very satisfactory. Superior accommodations are mandatory if workers are going to be induced to come to work in the North from their more comfortable southern environments on a regular basis. For example, each employee is provided with a separate bunk bed in a room with one or two other people. At both the base camp and the rig sites workers enjoyed running water, shower

facilities, flush toilets, and movies. At the base camp a recreation centre provided such amenities as pool tables, shuffleboards, and table tennis facilities. Within the 12 hour working day, there was time allotted for coffee breaks and meals. And during the eating breaks the meals served were impressive. During any given dining hour an enormous meal was served which included several meat and vegetable alternatives, and a large variety of dessert selections. It is not uncommon for southern white employees to comment on the extraordinary nature of the eating and support facilities when compared to southern standards, let alone in comparison to whatever else might be found at such northerly latitudes.

Conclusion

Although working from a rather unplanned initiation, the Pan Arctic Inuit employment operation was, after it got under way, a rather flexible one. Native workers were given plenty of freedom about whether and when they wanted to work. Although the manual labour was strenuous, while on the job the Inuit workers were supplied with wages, room, board, and recreational facilities that were more plush than anything most of them had ever seen in their home communities. It is to this type of rotational wage employment that the Inuit workers studied by this investigation were responding.

Chapter 5

METHODOLOGY

SOURCES OF DATA

As previously demonstrated, this study has both exploratory-descriptive as well as hypothesis-testing components. One defining characteristic of exploratory-descriptive research is its employment of a wide variety of data sources in an attempt to answer the problems under scrutiny (Selltiz, et. al., 1951). Perhaps the diffuse focus of this type of research necessitates the employment of varied sources of data. At any rate, the data sources included in this study are wide-ranging. Sketches of each of the data sources included in this study are considered below.

Interviews with Workers

The previous section stated that a proportionately large sample of both Inuit and white workers were interviewed during the course of this study. These structured interviews asked essentially the same information from both white and Inuit respondents. The interviews began by asking a variety of standard socio-demographic questions. In addition, the interviews asked the workers about various aspects of their previous work experience. Besides this background information, the bulk of the interview schedule asked about the kind of intensity of worries employees had about working on the sites away from home and their attitudes about various aspects of oil exploration employment,

ranging from the type of work to the accommodations. Workers were also asked about their committment to continued rotation wage employment of the oil exploration type.

In short, the formal interviews conducted with Inuit and southern white employees principally dealt with a variety of subjective dimensions about oil exploration employment and lifestyle. It is worth noting that an instrument essentially similar to this one has previously been employed successfully in studying another Arctic region (Hobart and Kupfer, 1974).

Employment Records

A second source of data used in this study came from the employment records of both white and Inuit workers. Two kinds of information were collected from these records. First, data from the available employment application forms was used to assemble and check a variety of background variables on each worker. These background variables included attributes like education, employment history, age, marital status, et cetera. Second, payroll records were used to compile a record of each employee's yearly earnings, his period of employment, and the number of reasons for any absenteeism throughout the employment season. These data, especially those from employee records, related to a second, objective dimension of an individual's response to the employment situation.

Supervisor Ratings

Another source of data that was collected to provide a more

objective indication of employee response came from supervisor ratings. Supervisors were asked to rate the individual white and Inuit employees on several scales which tapped various dimensions of employee adjustment. First, supervisor's rated employees on the effectiveness with which they performed their job. Second, employees were rated on how well they responded to working under the stresses and strains of an Arctic environment. A third quite different aspect of work performance was measured as supervisors rated their employees on their "camp citizenship" or ability to coexist and cooperate within a camp environment. Finally, supervisors rated both white and Inuit employees as to whether they would be nominated as members of a first rate crew or not. These four supervisor ratings on each employee provided valuable additional information about worker on-the-job performance.

Unstructured Interviews

Informal, unstructured interviews were conducted with a variety of officials who had knowledge or understanding of the Inuit employment programme and the effects it was having. Within the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, government officials, R.C.M.P., businessmen, teachers, and nurses were all solicited for their views about how they perceived and evaluated the effects of the employment programme on the natives. At the company's employment sites and at the home offices in southern Alberta, a variety of company officials and representatives were also interviewed on an informal basis. The data from these interviews provided a large amount of background information as well as third party perceptions and evaluations of the workings and effects of the Inuit employment programme.

Family Interviews

In both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay many wives and children of native workers were also interviewed on a formal, questionnaire basis. These interviews probed family members' perceptions and evaluations of their husbands' (fathers') employment on the oil rig sites. Wives and children of married Inuit workers were asked specifically about how and why they felt as they did both before and after their husbands' (fathers') began working with the Pan Arctic operation. In an attempt to verify responses by Inuit workers about their reactions to the employment situation, family members were also asked about their husband's (father's) reaction to employment while he was at home. Like the structured interviews with workers, the questionnaire used with wives and children of married workers had also been successfully used in a Western Arctic setting (Hobart and Kupfer, 1974). The formal interviews with the families of married native workers provided another important source of information about how the employment was affecting the workers' family life and the community generally.

Official Records

In addition to interviewing informed whites and Inuit families in each of the native communities, a variety of more objective indicators of community effects were collected from available official records. Information was collected on alcohol imports into each of the native communities. Similarly, nursing station records were collected regarding the incidence of violent woundings and infant and childhood respiratory infections. Data on arrests and convictions

within each of the communities was collected from the local R.C.M.P. and Justice of the Peace. Finally, some other official government data on welfare payments and hunting and trapping records were collected. These kinds of community indicators were collected with the intention of supplying some more objective indicators to supplement the picture provided through the formal and informal interviews within each of the communities.

Participant Observation

To supplement all of the other types of data collected for this study, a variety of participant observation data was collected by the author from visiting and interacting with white and Inuit workers both on-the-job and in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay.

A COMMENT ON FIELD OPERATIONS

During the summer of 1974 the researcher spent three weeks visiting Pan Arctic rig sites and the home communities of the Inuit workers. Prior to arrival in the settlements, the researcher had obtained letters of introduction to settlement managers from the Pan Arctic personnel office confirming my arrival and purpose. The researcher also communicated personally with the settlement managers of both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay stating his intentions more explicitly and asking permission to visit.

On arrival in the communities, the researcher met with the settlement council, explained his intention, answered questions about the project, and solicited their co-operation. In both communities this co-operation was immediately granted. While in the communities,

the researcher alternately stayed in the local transient center and in the homes of community members. In this manner he was able to gain an appreciation of various facets of community life.

While in the communities, the author informally interviewed all the long term white residents in the communities and all of the settlement council members. These individuals were asked for a candid statement of their perceptions and evaluations of the employment programme and its effects. In addition, through various social functions, the author had the opportunity to informally meet and talk with a variety of community members of various statuses. This informal interaction not only provided an additional opportunity to experience the flavour of northern community life but also provided access to a variety of informal comments about the wage employment programme and its effects.

Finally, in the last few days of the visits, on the basis of personal experience and on the advice of the settlement council, an Inuit interviewer was chosen from each of the communities. Several hours were spent with this interviewer in both providing him with a clear understanding of the project as a whole and in the administration of the formal interview.

Although the researcher himself was not able to spend a particularly long time in each of the Inuit communities, this does not necessarily make the data collected less valid. From all indications the researcher appeared to have gained a fairly good rapport with persons both on the rig sites and in the Inuit communities. Obviously such a judgement is easier to make with respect to whites

than it is about the Inuit. However, there are at least two reasons for believing that the data collected from Inuit respondents was reasonably useful. First, the formal interviews were conducted by a well-known and respected Inuit member of each community. These interviewers were cautioned to take all the time they required to complete the interviews in a careful, understanding, non-threatening fashion. This certainly turned out to be the case in Pond Inlet where the interviewing took several months to complete. The second reason for placing some faith in the interview data collected from the Inuit communities is the fact that the verbal responses were similar to the actions of the Inuit as confirmed by more objective sources of data.

THE SAMPLES

The data used to assess Inuit responses to industrialization both in their home communities and on-the-job were collected from two Inuit settlements beginning in the summer of 1974. The Inuit data were collected from workers and their families in the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay on the northern tip of Baffin Island, Northwest Territories.

In both Inuit settlements nearly every adult male, at one time or another, has worked for Pan Arctic on their drilling operations. The sample of 67 Inuit workers used in this study represent 88 per cent of the native workers who were employed during the 1973-74 season. Interviews were also conducted with a sample of 35 of the 40 wives of married employees from the settlements. In addition, interviews were conducted with 50 children of Inuit employees. In short, the samples

of Inuit workers, wives, and children interviewed represent a substantial proportion of the Inuit community populations directly contacted with wage employment and its consequences during the 1973-74 drilling season.

Besides collecting data on Inuit workers, a sample of 63 white workers employed on the rig sites were also interviewed. The 63 white employees who were interviewed represent 91 per cent of the 69 southern workers who were in regular contact with natives both on the rig sites and in the base camp operations. Of the six white workers who were not interviewed, four gave the justifiable excuse that they were unable to find time for the interview. Only two white workers (3 per cent) outrightly refused to be interviewed.

An attempt was made to establish whether these non-respondents had attributes significantly different from those workers who were interviewed. Interviews with the co-workers and supervisors of the non-respondents gave the impression that they represented no distinct subsample.

In any case, the fact that 91 per cent of the finite southern white worker population were interviewed significantly decreases the probability of sampling error. Mueller, et. al. (1970:383) provide the statistical rationale underlying this point:

> In general, relatively large samples are more representative than small ones. The measurement of this improvement in reliability (for finite populations) is effected by incorporating the sampling ratio, n/N, in the formula for standard error. Thus, the standard error, on the assumption of a finite population, is:

$$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}} \sqrt{1 - \frac{n}{N}}$$

When n/N (the finite population multiplier) is as high as 90 per cent, the square root of the difference under the radical approaches 0.30, which represents that the measurement of the standard error is reduced by 70 per cent. This compares favourably with the usual finite population multiplier of 25 per cent, which yields a shrinkage in the standard error of 13 per cent (Mueller, et. al., 1970:384).

Sixty of the 63 interviews conducted with white workers were completed by the author during his stay on the various Pan Arctic drilling sites during the summer of 1974. The remaining three interviews took place at workers' homes in Alberta. The same interview information was collected from the Inuit workers while they were in their home communities. Interviews with native workers, their wives, and children began during August of 1974 and were completed in February of 1975.

The Inuit interviews were conducted in both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay by local natives who had not been involved in the Pan Arctic operations. The interviewers in each of these communities were young men, comparatively well educated, who were reported by settlement council members to be well known and integrated into their respective communities. These interviewers were briefed on the interview schedule in detail by the author until a thorough understanding of the intent and meaning of the instrument was clear. Only after this understanding was acquired did the interviewers begin their work.

While in the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay during the summer of 1974 the author also conducted informal interviews with white nurses, teachers, ministers, police, businessmen, and government personnel. These interviews were obtained with almost all of the

whites who had lived in the native communities for any significant length of time, and therefore constituted useful perceptions and evaluations of the new employment programme. Informal interviews were also conducted on the rig sites with various white supervisors in an attempt to gain their reactions to the native employment programme.

INDICATORS

Throughout this study two important concepts have been stressed. These concepts include on-the-job response to wage employment and the community effects concommitant with exposure to regular wage employment. These two central concepts can be characterized principally as dependent variables. Obviously, these concepts have a variety of different components. It is the task of this section to demonstrate how these concepts are measured for the purposes of this study.

On-the-Job Response

Measuring the responses of both Inuit and white workers on the rig sites to their jobs and the working environment generally is accomplished in two ways. First, a formal questionnaire was employed to probe the subjective experience of workers to a variety of aspects of their work experience. A qualification about self report data of this type deserves mention, especially with respect to Inuit respondents. There exists a tendency among the Inuit to avoid uttering criticizing or disparaging remarks (Hobart and Kupfer, 1974). This results from cultural inhibitions and may have the effect of making their questionnaire responses more positive than is actually the case. In order to minimize this effect among Inuit respondents, the study used an Inuit

interviewer who had never been associated with the Pan Arctic operation and consequently was biased neither for or against the employment programme. Nonetheless, this possible bias deserves mention even though attempts were made to minimize its influence. A second set of data, used to indicate worker response to the employment situation, derives from more impersonal sources. These measures included data gathered from worker employment records and ratings made by the supervisors of both native and white employees.

Subjective Experience. The formal interviews used a number of questions to indicate the general satisfaction of the worker with his employment experience. First, workers were asked if they would like to work for Pan Arctic or one of the expediting companies again the following season. A positive or negative response to the possibility of continued employment on the rig sites, when other employment was available either in the form of full time hunting and trapping in the Inuit case or southern employment in the case of white workers, was taken as an indication of the worker's general satisfaction with his employment experience.

A further indication of the general satisfaction of the employee was indicated by their response to the question 'Would you liked to have worked longer during this past season?' In the Arctic, the active drilling season runs from November to the end of May. During the summer and autumn months some workers are usually layed off because of work shortages. In cases where this occurred, an expression of the desire to have worked longer was taken as an indication of general work satisfaction.

A third indicator of worker on-the-job satisfaction was tapped by asking employees to choose their preference from a variety of alternative work rotation schedules. Pan Arctic employees worked on a 20 days on, ten days off rotation schedule. Asking employees to choose from alternatives which would have allowed them to work either for longer periods with less time off, or shorter periods with more time off, or continue the same rotation schedule, was used as an indication of general satisfaction with the rotation type work schedules and environment.

Besides these indicators of general satisfaction with the work situation and experience, the questionnaire probed worker reaction to a variety of specific aspects of northern rotation wage employment. For example, workers responded on Likert type scales with their feelings about the work activity they were doing, their experience with bosses, their experience with Inuit workers, their experience with white workers, the food on the job, the free time facilities, and the flights between their home and the work camps. These scales provided indications of the workers' subjective reactions to various aspects of their employment conditions.

Similar types of Likert scales were employed to probe worker attitudes to issues that were not directly related to their job. These issues encompassed worker reactions to the separation imposed by being employed on the rig sites far from their home for lengthily periods. Specifically, these scales asked about the worker's feelings with respect to being separated from his wife, being separated from his children, being separated from his friends and relatives, and not

being able to participate in community activities.

Another dimension of the workers' subjective experience with rotational wage employment was indexed by asking workers how much they worried about various job related issues. For instance, workers were asked how much they worried about a serious accident of injury befalling themselves while working far from their homes and families. Similarly, workers were asked how much they worried about some serious accident or illness occurring to their wives, children, or other relatives. The final kinds of worries measured by the questionnaires asked workers how much they were concerned that their children or wife might get into trouble because they were away and unable to provide adequate supervision.

Other subjective concerns of workers were indicated by various questionnaire items. For example, one possible concern affecting worker experience on-the-job is whether or not he believes his family is overly concerned about his being away. Further, it is relevant to know how much the respondent feels affected by either the concern or lack of concern shown by his family that he is away working. Both of these subjective dimensions were probed on scales contained in the formal interviews.

A final measure of the worker's subjective on-the-job experience is measured by a questionnaire item which asks the respondent to list the changes he would like in order to make the employment programme a better one. The number of changes or complaints listed by any respondent provides an indication of the intensity of his dissatisfaction with the employment experience.

Objective Performance. The objective on-the-job performance of both white and Inuit employees was measured through a variety of indicators obtained from employment records and supervisors ratings. From the employment records, indicators of work duration, work persistence, and work dependability were obtained.

From the employment records it is possible to ascertain when employees began and finished their regular rotations for any given season. Using these data, it can be calculated how long it was possible for any given employee to work during the employment season. Against this maximum possible employment period, the actual amount of time worked by the employee can be compared. Such a comparison provides an indication of the employees work duration.

Work persistence is another objective dimension of employee on-the-job performance that can be measured from the data available on employment records. Work persistence refers to how late in the drilling season an employee was willing to work. Especially for Inuit employees, there exists a temptation to quit in the early spring and go hunting. The usual drilling season lasts until the end of April or May and, therefore, an employee's work persistence can be measured by noting how close to the end of the employment season he maintained his employment. The earlier the worker voluntarily terminated employment, the less persistent his on-the-job performance.

Work dependability is the third objective indicator of on-the-job response. Data from payroll records allows an assessment of the number and kinds of interruptions experienced by a worker during the employment season. Interruptions were classified as a failure to make

the next rotation period following the ten days spent at home. A greater number of unauthorized interruptions made by any employee is interpreted as signifying greater dissatisfaction with the on-the-job work experience and environment.

Two additional indicators of an employee's on-the-job response to the demands of Arctic industrial wage employment were acquired from supervisor ratings collected for each worker. One important dimension tapped by the supervisor ratings can be referred to as work performance.

Work performance for each employee was measured in three ways from the information supplied on supervisor rating forms. First, each worker was rated on a seven point scale as to how well he performed his job. On another seven point scale workers were rated on how well they stood up to the stresses and strains of working in an Arctic environment. A third indicator of an employee's work performance was ascertained from whether or not his supervisor nominated him as a member of a first rate crew. These three supervisor ratings were used in this study to provide an indication of an employee's work performance.

A final indicator on an employee's on-the-job reaction to the rotational wage employment was also supplied from the supervisor ratings. This final dimension provided an indicator of a worker's "camp citizenship" or ability to get along with others while working and living within the confined camp environment. Like other supervisor ratings, each worker's camp citizenship was rated on a seven point Likert type scale.

Community Changes

Like the measurement of on-the-job responses, the indicators of the effects regular wage employment is having on the home communities of native workers derived from two sources. One group of indicators came from the structured questionnaire data collected from Inuit workers, married workers' wives, and children. The other set of data came principally from official territorial and federal government records.

Family Perceptions. A major component of Inuit communities directly affected by wage employment are the families of native workers. This group is especially important since the family has traditionally been the focal unit of Inuit society (Hughes, 1964). Consequently, an important measure of the effects wage employment is having on the home communities of native workers is to gain some indication of how the families of Inuit workers are responding to the rotation wage employment.

Structured interviews were conducted with the wives and children of a significant proportion of Inuit workers. Copies of the instruments used to collect their perceptions and evaluations of the wage employment experience are found in Appendix 1.

A first indicator of Inuit family reactions to wage employment was obtained by asking the wives whether they thought it was generally a good thing for the settlement that so many men should work away from home at the oil work camps. In answering this general question, the wives were probed as to why they did or did not approve of employment for the community at large.

A second question asked of the wives dealt with more personal aspects of their husbands' working. For example, wives were asked whether or not and why they wanted their own husband to leave for work with the oil company before he went the first time. This question supplied an indicator of the initial enthusiasm or reticence on the part of Inuit families for oil exploration employment.

After this indication of initial committment to oil employment, wives were asked whether and why they would like their husbands to work again the coming winter. This question gave an indication of whether initial contact with wage employment increased or reduced the family unit's interest in wage employment of this type.

In addition to asking whether the wives were interested in having their husbands work again, more specific questions about how long they would like their husbands to work and what rotation schedule they would like him to work, were explored. Both of these questions provide additional indications of whether and how interested the wives of Inuit workers were in wage employment. If wage employment was adversely affecting the family or home life of native workers, presumably the wives would be more reluctant to accept his return to wage employment.

A number of questionnaire items explored specific effects wage employment was having on the home lives of Inuit workers. Wives were probed about the number and kind of likes, dislikes, and troubles introduced into their life because of their husbands' wage employment involvement. They were also asked about the type and amount of worries they had while being separated from their spouse.

A final indicator drawn from the interviews with the wives of Inuit workers asked about how the supply of meat within the household was affected during the husband's period of employment. In settlements as traditional as Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, country meat sources play an important role in the family diet (Brody, 1975). The fact that the hunters within the family could be gone at work for as long as two thirds of the winter season could obviously upset this important dietary source. If wage employment was interfering with the winter meat supplies, then obviously this would be an important effect on the family life of the Inuit settlements.

Like their mothers, the children of many Inuit workers were also interviewed for their perceptions and evaluations of their father's employment on the oil exploration sites. Potentially the fact that the fathers could be gone at work for up to two thirds of the winter could have serious consequences for the affective relations between father and children.

The children were asked whether and why they were happy and/or sad about their father's involvement with the oil companies. Like their mothers, the children were also asked whether they would like their father to work again at the rig sites during the next employment season.

In addition to these indicators, emotional reactions of children to their father's employment was also measured by questioning about their personal preferences after they grew up. For example, boys were asked whether and why they would like to have employment such as their father's when grew up. In a similar vein, girls were

asked whether and why they would like to marry someone who was involved in work like their father's when they grew up. As well, all children were asked whether or not they were proud of the fact that their father had been employed on the oil exploration sites.

These multiple indicators from both the wives and children of married Inuit workers were utilized in an attempt to indicate the general effects oil exploration employment was having on the family lives of native workers. These family evaluations are an especially important aspect of the effects employment is having on the home communities of native workers because, as mentioned previously, the family is the central social unit in Inuit social organization. In addition to these quantified indicators of the effects on family life, informal interviews with the local minister, who doubles as social councellor, are also integrated into the picture of the effects wage employment is having on the home life of Inuit employees.

Community Indicators. Most of the remaining indicators of the effects wage employment is having on the home communities of native workers come from official records. One indicator, however, does not. This first indicator of community effects is a general one and comes from asking the Inuit workers whether and why they thought that industrial wage employment was a good thing for their communities generally.

In addition to this general evaluation supplied by workers, other indicators point to more specific community effects. One important community concern that exists in many northern settlements relates to the consumption of alcohol (Gemini North, 1974). Increased

money from wage employment certainly supplies the potential for an increased consumption of alcohol in settlements such as Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. It seems reasonable to speculate that the effects of increased dollars on alcohol consumption will be compounded if the wage employment were particularly stressful on either the workers or their families. Under such circumstances, alcohol might be used as an outlet for venting increased tensions and hostility resulting from the wage employment experience. Available monthly records of alcohol imports into the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay were used as an indicator of this possible dimension of community disruption.

Often the incidence of violent activity is intimately related to the consumption of alcohol in northern communities (Gemini North, 1974). If drinking alcoholic beverages is for the specific purpose of relieving frustrations related to wage employment, the relationship between alcohol and violence becomes apparent. This study used monthly nursing station records on the incidence of violent wounds requiring suturing as an indicator of violence within the community. It should be noted that this indicator is likely an underestimate because much violence can occur which does not require suturing. To supplement the picture provided by records of suturing wounds, informal interviews with the local R.C.M.P. and other informed whites about the incidence of general violent activity is indicated.

A fourth indicator of possible community disruption is related to the two previous measures. This measure indicates the number of convictions made in the magistrate's court and was obtained from R.C.M.P. and Justice of the Peace records. Local R.C.M.P. report that

virtually all offenses and convictions made within the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay are alcohol related. Where plenty of money is available and men and families are frustrated for various reasons, it seems reasonable to expect that the amount of violence or community disturbances resulting in conviction will increase.

Another indicator of disruption in Inuit communities is child neglect. The family is the central unit in Inuit societies and the Inuit are characteristically indulgent in their child rearing practices (Briggs, 1970). It would certainly be a significant indicator of community disruption if Inuit parents were to begin neglecting their children. Inuit homes are usually kept at high temperatures in both winter and summer. In winter months, if children are not properly fed, dressed, and cared for, the very high temperature differentials between inside and outside the house, when combined with inadequate nutrition and the usual amounts of bacteria, make young children particularly susceptible to respiratory infections. Consequently, if children are being neglected, it is reasonable to assume that the incidence of respiratory infections among small children will increase. Monthly data on the incidence of respiratory infections among infants and young children were obtained as indicators of child neglect from nursing station records within each of the two Inuit settlements.

These five indicators are the principal ones that could be quantified and used as measures of community disruption associated with wage employment within the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. Other less quantitative indicators of community disruption were derived from informal interviews and anecdotes collected from long term white

and Inuit residents within each of these communities. Where appropriate, these qualitative indicators are used to supplement the picture provided by the quantitative indicators.

ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

It will be recalled that the optimistic-pessimistic northern development positions summarized in Chapter 1 called principally for a descriptive answer. Each side of the debate had their own reasons for believing as they did and the central question resided on describing how the Inuit were actually responding on-the-job and in their home communities. Consequently, in the following chapters, the optimistic-pessimistic debate may be answered through a careful quantification, description, and interpretation of the findings provided from each of the on-the-job and community response indicators.

The descriptions provided in answering the optimistic-pessimistic debate, as it applies to the question of on-the-job responses, derives from a different set of analytic procedures than that used to assess community responses. Regarding on-the-job responses, the optimistic-pessimistic debate is answered by comparing the responses of Inuit workers on various indices to those of southern white co-workers. Instituting this white comparison group provides a standard against which Inuit worker responses can be evaluated. This procedure is considered in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Answering the optimistic-pessimistic debate as it applies to the Inuit community responses involves another set of procedures. Wherever possible, two methods were used. One procedure involves

comparing the measures on any given community indicator over time. Such a between-years comparison allows an assessment of whether there has been a significant increase on any given indicator of community disruption since the onset of the wage employment programme. The second method for evaluating community responses involves within-year, rather than between-year, comparisons. Within the oil exploration year there are identifiable periods of slack and extensive employment. Particularly, the winter months of November through May are periods of high drilling activity. Knowledge of this justifies a comparison of community responses between active and inactive employment periods on any particular measure as an indicator of community change associated with the wage employment programme. The results of these two methods for describing community responses to the wage employment programme are also used to test Chance's theory as it was presented in Chapter 2.

The only other procedure requiring description involves the test for schooling's importance to the on-the-job responses of Inuit workers. As previously mentioned, most of the on-the-job work performance indices were measured on Likert type scales. To test the relevance of schooling and other independent variables to on-the-job adjustment, these scales were combined into two measures of the dependent variable using a simple additive technique (Heise and Bohrnstedt, 1970). These combined measures of the dependent variable were labelled as "subjective on-the-job adjustment" and "objective on-the-job adjustment".

The Likert scaled questions used to build up the subjective on-the-job indicator included: (a) asking workers how much they would

like to work for the oil company the following season, (b) asking whether they would like to have worked longer during their past employment season, (c) asking the workers to choose among three alternative work rotation schedules, (d) specifically inquiring about workers' intensity of dislike for their work activity, their bosses, Inuit co-workers, white co-workers, the camp food, the free time facilities, and the transportation provided to and from their homes, (e) specifically inquiring about workers' intensity of dislike concerning separation from friends, relatives, and community activities, (f) specifically inquiring about the degree of workers' concern over having accidents while on the job and serious problems occurring to close relatives while the worker was on the job. This subjective on-the-job indicator had a mean score of 32.09 and a standard deviation of 7.11.

The dependent variable indicator labelled "objective on-the-job adjustment" was built up from the following items: (a) worker employment records measuring his work duration, work persistence, and work dependability, (b) supervisor ratings of the individual's work performance, his ability to withstand the stresses and strains of the Arctic work environment, and his camp citizenship, and (c) supervisor ratings of the likelihood of the worker achieving a rating as a first rate crew member. This objective on-the-job indicator had a mean of 33.45 and a standard deviation of 7.62.

After these two scales of the dependent variable were established, the relationship of various independent variables to these measures had to be assessed. Establishing such relationships involved a two step procedure. First, a factor analysis was performed to

isolate meaningful dimensions of the independent variables that might be relevant to either the subjective or objective indicators of work adjustment. Second, after relevant independent variables were established, these factors were correlated with work adjustment through multiple regression. A more detailed discussion of these two analytic procedures is contained in the relevant sections of the following chapter.

Chapter 6

ON-THE-JOB RESPONSE

THE OPTIMISTIC-PESSIMISTIC DEBATE

The first chapter of this study introduced the optimistic and pessimistic viewpoints about the likelihood of successful adaptation by Inuit workers to the on-the-job demands of industrial employment. The chapter suggested a description of how effectively natives were adapting to on-the-job demands would sufficiently discriminate between competing orientations. There is, however, a methodological problem in simply describing the responses of Inuit workers to the work situation.

From description it is impossible to judge the adequateness of Inuit responses because description alone provides no standard for comparison. If simple description were alone used, then each reader would have to invoke his personal standards of expectation and comparison to interpret the adequateness of the Inuit responses. This, obviously, is not a desirable state of affairs from a scientific point of view. To overcome this potential difficulty, this study provides an empirical standard of comparison against which the responses of Inuit workers can be judged. The comparison group includes a sample of southern white workers who also laboured on the rig sites along with the Inuit workers.

Mention should be made of the bias introduced by using a

southern, white comparison group. The 63 southern white workers interviewed on the rig sites constitute a biased sample because they voluntarily chose their type of employment and working conditions over other available alternatives. Presumably the white workers who came to work from southern Canada did so because northern employment had certain appealing advantages. In this regard, the white workers were a group selected for their particular interest in a northern oil exploration working environment. This selection tends to bias the white sample in the direction of successful adaptation.

The sample of Inuit workers observed in this study had no such selective bias for positive on-the-job adaptation. The Inuit workers came from two Arctic settlements where, if an individual desired wage employment, there was no real choice but to work for the oil companies. In this sense, the Inuit sample might be characterized as accepting their employment less voluntarily than the sample of southern white workers. In short, the sampling biases between Inuit and white comparison groups used in this study will tend to make the Inuit responses to the on-the-job demands of wage employment appear less successful than they would if similar Inuit and white groups were employed. There was no methodological manner in which this study could control for these inherent biases. The best that can be done is to appreciate this bias when interpreting the results.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Before presenting the comparative on-the-job responses of the two groups, some comparison of the general characteristics of the two samples deserves consideration. Many of the following descriptions are reported in terms of the proportion of white and Inuit workers possessing a given attribute. Therefore, it is useful to reiterate that the Inuit sample included 67 workers while the size of the white sample was 63. It should also be noted that there was no difference between the workers coming from Pond Inlet and those coming from Arctic Bay. Therefore, these two samples of Inuit workers may be pooled.

The Inuit workers were comparatively young with a median age of 25 years, almost 20 per cent of the sample under 20 years, and the oldest employees no more than 45 years of age. The white workers had a median age of 30 years with only 5 per cent of the sample under 20. Over 8 per cent of the white workers were over 45 years of age.

Some 60 per cent of the Inuit workers were married while this was the case for only 32 per cent of the white workers. Among the married men in both samples, the median number of children was 3, while in both groups about 40 per cent of the men had either one child or greater than 5 children.

The white workers were understandably much better educated than the Inuit. One third of the Inuit workers had no schooling at all and one half had two or fewer years of education. Although

21 per cent of the Inuit workers had more than 8 years of schooling, the average amount of education within the native sample was 3.5 years. This was in direct contrast to the white workers whose average education was 10.9 years, while none had less than 6 years of education. However, in both white and Inuit samples between 33 and 37 per cent of the members had some type of special job training.

Predictably, the select sample of southern white workers had considerably more oil exploration experience than the Inuit. All of the Inuit sample had less than one year of experience working on the rig sites as of the Fall of 1974, and the average amount of time was 5 months. Only 13 per cent of the white workers had less than one year's experience, while the average amount of experience was about 5 years. Over 6 per cent of the white sample had over 20 years experience.

The lack of Inuit experience on oil rigs sites demonstrated itself in the type of jobs they held. Seventy-two per cent of the Inuit workers were employed as unskilled labourers on the work sites. The other 28 per cent occupied positions such as heavy duty equipment operators (5 per cent), truck drivers (10 per cent), and other types of semi-skilled labourers (13 per cent). Two thirds of the white workers were employed in semi-skilled or skilled positions of one type or another.

In closing, a few other facts about the Inuit workers deserve mention. Almost half, 45 per cent, had never trapped full time in their lives, which reflects the youthfulness of the sample members. About one third had trapped within the past 4 years and 22 per cent

ceased trapping full time at least 6 years previously. Of those with full time trapping experience, 40 per cent had done so no more than 5 years, while about same proportion had trapped full time for 9 or more years.

All of the Inuit sample had, at one time or another, some previous limited wage employment experience. For two thirds of the Inuit sample this experience was as unskilled labourers, principally with government created jobs. About half of the Inuit men had worked no more than 9 months at their longest lasting job, and the same proportion had worked for a total of only 16 months in the preceeding 5 years.

This brief description provides a short comparison of Inuit and white workers juxtaposed in the following sections. It deserves mention that although the samples have some significantly different attributes, these attributes cannot be partialled out when comparing the on-the-job responses of both groups. With such small sample sizes, controlling for the effects of even one variable would reduce the sample sizes to the point where differences would almost always be subject to random fluctuation.

SUBJECTIVE ON-THE-JOB REACTIONS

A first, general indicator of worker on-the-job reaction to wage employment asked whether they wanted to work again for Pan Arctic the following season. The responses of both white and Inuit workers are recorded in Table 7. Among the Inuit, only 16.4 per cent reported they were unsure or probably not going to return to work the following

Table 7

Inuit and White Worker Interests in Working Again in Following Season

	Inuit	White
6 Definitely Yes	43.3%	50.8%
5 Probably Yes	28.4%	14.3%
4 Qualified Yes	11.9%	6.3%
3 Unsure	3.0%	22.2%
2 Probably Not	13.4%	3.2%
1 Definitely Not	0.0%	3.2%
Total N	67	63
Average Rating	5.1	4.8

season, and none of the employees was definite about not returning. Among the white workers 28.6 per cent were either unsure, probably not, or definitely not planning on returning next season. In short, although a strong majority of both Inuit and white employees were planning on returning, the Inuit were somewhat more in favour of doing so.

A second indicator of general employee satisfaction with their on-the-job experience is contained in the response to the question, 'If possible, would you have liked to have worked longer during this past season?' The responses to this question are available for Inuit respondents only. All but 6 of the 67 Inuit men responding indicated that they would have liked to have worked longer. This overwhelming support, however, should not be taken too literally. In response to the question, 'Why did you stop working for Pan Arctic this season?',

only about half of the men reported that they did not quit or that they quit for involuntary reasons like illness or family problems. The remaining 49 per cent terminated their employment voluntarily because they were tired of working (26 per cent), wanted to spend more time at home (13 per cent), or wanted to go hunting (10 per cent). Nonetheless, the majority Inuit opinion stating that they might have liked to work longer signifies a reasonably favourable Inuit response to the on-the-job situation.

A third subjective indicator of on-the-job work satisfaction is also one that does not allow comparison between Inuit and white samples. The Inuit workers were asked which of three different rotation schedules they would prefer. The first alternative was a schedule that would allow them more time at work, less time at home, and the possibility of earning more money. The second alternative was for the same rotation period and earnings as they were presently working. The third alternative was for less time at work, more time at home, with resulting less earnings than they were presently making.[6] A majority of the Inuit men (55 per cent) opted for the first rotation alternative. Forty per cent chose the second option, while only 10 per cent of the workers chose the less work, with more time at home option. When asked to give reasons for their choices, almost all of those opting for the longer rotation period mentioned the prospect of increased earnings. Of those 10 per cent who wanted to spend less time on the rig sites, all said they wanted to have more time for hunting. The fact that 90 per cent of the workers wanted either the same or more work may be reasonably interpreted as a sign that they were not particularly

dissatisfied with their on-the-job employment experience.

Besides these general subjective indicators of on-the-job satisfaction, responses to a number of specific aspects of employment were probed. The responses of both Inuit and white workers to these Likert scaled questions appear in Table 8. In general these data suggest that both Inuit and white workers were, at worst, indifferent to many aspects of their employment situation. The Inuit were more favourable than the white workers to both the food and free time facilities on-the-job. This is likely due to a contrast effect between what white workers could possibly experience in southern Canada and what Inuit workers have available in their home communities. Concerning their experience with Inuit workers on-the-job and the flights between home and work, white and Inuit workers had essentially the same reactions. With respect to their work activity, their relationships with bosses, and their experience with white co-workers, the Inuit demonstrate generally less favourable responses than do white employees. The less favourable Inuit responses to these final three items are predictable. The situations involve interaction with forms that are essentially foreign to the Inuit and to whom their cultural background call for a restrained approach. Regarding the responses toward work activity, the Inuit simply were involved in less interesting, more menial jobs than were the white employees.

A similar type of Likert scale was employed to probe worker attitudes to issues that were not directly related to their job. White and Inuit responses to imposed separation are presented in Table 9. The distribution of the findings within Table 9, for both

Table 8

Feelings of Inuit and White Workers about Various Aspects of their Work Experience (Percentages)

While working how did you feel about:	Liked Very Much (5)	Liked A Little (4)	Indifferent (3)	Disliked A Little (2)	Disliked A Lot (1)	Mean
Your work activity; what you did on the job?	34 (40)*	15 (44)	33 (6)	12 (8)	6 (2)	3.5 (4.1)
The bosses who told you what to do?	46 (38)	13 (44)	25 (13)	8 (3)	8 (3)	3.8 (4.1)
Other Inuit workers?	54 (36)	16 (40)	21 (19)	8 (5)	1 (0)	4.1 (4.1)
Other white workers?	42 (43)	25 (36)	21 (21)	10 (0)	1 (0)	3.9 (4.2)
Food on the job?	72 (44)	4 (30)	15 (16)	6 (8)	3 (2)	4.4 (4.0)
Your free time; (non-work time in camp)?	36 (11)	9 (29)	27 (24)	12 (32)	16 (4)	3.3 (3.0)
The flights between your home and the camp?	32 (17)	3 (21)	12 (17)	29 (13)	24 (32)	3.0 (2.9)

*Southern white worker responses in parentheses

Table 9

Responses of Inuit and White Workers to Questions Dealing with Work-Imposed Separation (Percentages)

	Liked (4)	Didn't Care (3)	Disliked A Little (2)	Disliked A Lot (1)	Mean
Separation from Wife**	10 (3)*	60 (51)	15 (36)	15 (10)	2.7 (2.1)
Separation from Children**	9 (2)	60 (51)	19 (33)	12 (14)	2.7 (2.4)
Separation from friends and relatives	14 (6)	63 (71)	19 (21)	4 (2)	3.0 (2.8)
Not being able to take part in community activities	8 (5)	58 (67)	28 (24)	6 (4)	2.7 (2.7)

*Southern white worker responses in parentheses
**Included only married white and Inuit workers

Inuit and white employees, suggests that there are disadvantages to working on the rig sites and being separated from home, family, and friends. In each category a very low proportion of the respondents claimed that they enjoyed the imposed separation. Comparing Inuit and white workers, it is evident that the native employees said they were slightly less disturbed by the imposed separation than were the white employees. This finding could be due, in part, to the fact that the natives come from a hunting and trapping tradition with a rather stoical philosophy. This tradition may make them better equipped to

cope with separation experiences.

Another dimension of workers subjective on-the-job experience was scaled by asking how much they worried about various job related issues. Responses to these interview questions are presented in Table 10.

Table 10

Worried Mentioned by White and Inuit Workers Concerning Work-Separation (Percentages)

	Worried Very Much (1)	Worried A Little (2)	Didn't Worry At All (3)	Mean
Something happening to me (accident, death)	9 (5)*	24 (30)	67 (65)	2.6 (2.6)
Something happening to my wife (accident, etc.) **	20 (14)	68 (73)	12 (13)	1.9 (2.0)
Something happening to my children**	22 (13)	69 (71)	9 (16)	1.9 (2.0)
Something happening to other relative	19 (6)	49 (33)	42 (61)	2.3 (2.5)
Kids get into trouble without father**	17 (5)	58 (57)	25 (38)	2.1 (2.3)
Wife getting into trouble**	16 (2)	52 (44)	32 (54)	2.1 (2.5)

*Southern white workers responses in parentheses

**Includes only married Inuit and white workers

These data demonstrate the predictable conclusion that concern for the safety of wife and children is paramount among northern employees. In everything other than concern for personal safety, the Inuit workers showed themselves to have a slightly greater tendency to worry than white workers. This was especially the case regarding married men's concern that their wife, lacking adequate supervision, may get into trouble while they were gone. These data, like those in the previous table, suggest that there are subjective prices attached to working on the rig sites away from home and family.

Another subjective concern was tapped by asking married Inuit and white workers how they thought their wives and children felt about being away from home working on the rig sites. These data are presented in Table 11.

Table 11

Married Worker Perception of Wife's and Children's Reactions to Work-Imposed Separations (Percentages)

	Liked (4)	Indifferent (3)	Disliked Somewhat (2)	Disliked A Lot (1)	Mean
Wife's Perception	18 (5)*	61 (41)	8 (37)	13 (17)	2.8 (2.3)
Children's Perception	0 (2)	57 (51)	22 (25)	21 (22)	2.3 (2.3)

*Southern white workers responses in parentheses

These data again reiterate the conclusion that there are affective costs to workers employed on the rig sites far from home and family. A very small proportion of any worker's children were perceived as being pleased with their father's absences. The data on wives suggests that Inuit men report their wives somewhat less upset by the separation than do the white workers. Nonetheless, in response to an additional question on the Inuit worker's schedule, 'Does it bother you very much that your wife and children are sometimes very lonely for you?', almost half (43 per cent) of the married Inuit men replied that it bothered them "a lot". An additional 27 per cent claimed that it bothered them somewhat. It appears, then, that although the Inuit workers perceive their wives and children as somewhat less lonely than the white worker families, the Inuit are still quite concerned about this situation.

OBJECTIVE INDICATORS OF ON-THE-JOB PERFORMANCE

Besides using the subjective responses from worker questionnaires, a number of other indicators of on-the-job work performance were gathered for both white and Inuit employees. These data come from two sources. Several of the indices are derived from payroll and other employment records kept by Pan Arctic and their expediters. The other source of the objective indicators came from supervisor ratings forms gathered on each worker.

Work Duration

One objective indicator of on-the-job performance derived from the employment records is labelled work duration. This measure refers principally to the total number of weeks an employee worked during the

employment season. These data, for white and Inuit employees, are summarized in Table 12. Examination of this table demonstrates that the average work duration of Inuit employees was similar to that of southern white employees. Both of these groups of workers had an average work duration of about 14.5 weeks. Further, examination of the table shows that the white workers were more highly represented in both the very high and very low duration categories. Since both the white and Inuit workers were on a 20 days work and ten days off rotation schedule, Table 12 demonstrates that a significantly greater proportion of white than Inuit workers terminated their employment even before one work rotation period was completed. However, substantially more white than Inuit workers completed more than 25 weeks of work, the proportions being 19 per cent for whites and 4.5 per cent for Inuit.

Table 12

Number of Weeks Worked for Pan Arctic During the 1973-74 Season by Inuit and White Workers (Percentages)

Number of Weeks Worked Code Value	Weeks Worked	Inuit	White
(1)	1- 2	0.0	4.8
(2)	3- 4	6.0	7.9
(3)	5- 6	9.0	6.3
(4)	7- 8	9.0	11.1
(5)	9-10	9.0	6.3
(6)	11-14	22.4	19.0
(7)	15-20	25.4	12.7
(8)	21-25	14.9	12.7
(9)	26+	4.5	19.0
	Mean	14.6 weeks	14.5 weeks

An additional aspect of Inuit workers work duration is exemplified in Table 13. In this table the "maximum possible" column refers to the proportion of Inuit workers who would have worked in each duration category if each employee worked as long as he possibly could. This proportion is calculated by measuring the number of weeks of work between each worker's date of first employment and the end of the drilling season. Comparing the actual proportion of Inuit workers who worked for each employment duration period with the maximum possible proportion provides another perspective on the work duration of Inuit employees.

From Table 13 it is obvious that a substantial proportion of the Inuit workers did not stay employed as long as they possibly could. Nonetheless, in some of the longer work duration categories, notably the 15-20 and over 26 week categories, a sizeable proportion of the Inuit employees turned in solid work duration performances.

Table 13

Duration of Employment by Inuit Workers
During the 1973-74 Employment Season

Number of Weeks Worked	Maximum Possible (Percentage)	Actual Workers Working This Long (Percentage)
2- 4	2	6
5- 8	3	18
9-14	39	31
15-20	16	25
21-25	33	15
26+	7	5

Work Persistence

A second objective indicator of on-the-job employment performance is work persistence. This variable refers to how late in the employment season an individual worker continued his regular work rotations. The regular Arctic drilling season is curtailed in the spring because drilling activity can take place only when the land and sea are frozen. In the spring there is an added drive to terminate employment among Inuit workers because this marks the beginning of fine weather and the spring hunting season. The proportion of workers who terminated their employment in various categories is presented in Table 14.

Table 14

Dates of Termination at End of 1973-74 Employment Season of Inuit and White Workers (Percentages)

Date Terminated	Inuit	White
Date ending after:		
May 1, 1974	62.7	65.1
April 16-30, 1974	14.9	1.6
April 1-15, 1974	1.5	20.6
March 16-30, 1974	1.5	4.8
March 1-15, 1974	3.0	3.2
February, 1974	4.5	0.0
January, 1974	7.5	1.6
December, 1973	0.0	1.6
November, 1973	4.5	1.6

Table 14 demonstrates that there is little difference between the work persistence demonstrated by either white or native workers. Effectively two thirds of both groups of workers persisted in their employment until after the 1st of May. Before March 1st a significantly high proportion of Inuit workers had left employment (16 per cent) than had white workers (5 per cent). By the 1st of April the gap in the work persistence between the two groups was down to 5 per cent as a total of 18 per cent of the Inuit employees had terminated as compared to 13 per cent of the white workers. During the month of April, however, the white workers terminated their employment at a significantly higher rate than did Inuit workers. This resulted in the negligible differences in work persistence between the two groups by the beginning of May.

An additional indicator of work persistence can be gathered from the employment records of Inuit and white workers. This indicator classifies the reasons an employee terminated his employment as either legitimate or not legitimate. Legitimate reasons for termination included finding a new job, illness, or family problems; reasons categorized as not legitimate included quitting and being fired or discharged. On this criterion, Inuit workers performed essentially the same as white workers. Inuit workers had a 45 per cent rate of legitimate termination compared to the rate of 40 per cent found amond the white workers.

Work Dependability

Work dependability is measured by the number of interruptions experienced in the regular rotation schedule of a worker. Table 15 summarizes these data.

Table 15

Number of Work Schedule Interruptions Experienced During 1973-74 Season (Percentages)

Number of Work Interruptions	Inuit	White
0	0.0	90.5
1	43.3	4.8
2	31.3	1.6
3	14.9	1.6
4+	10.5	1.6

This table shows that the Inuit employees show a substantially poorer work dependability performance than that of white employees. Although substantial, these differences should not be overemphasized for two reasons. First, a lower requirement of worker dependability is built into the structure of the Inuit employment programme. As the description in Chapter 4 demonstrated, the Inuit work programme was set up to hire men out of a pool of workers from the outset. This was done because there was an a priori expectation that Inuit workers would both want and need to take time off from work to hunt for their families, to trap, and to discharge community obligations. The fact that Inuit workers use this structure to their own satisfaction makes the original assumption of limited Inuit dependability self-fulfilling. The second reason for the substantial differences between white and Inuit worker dependability is also related to the structure of the work programme. Most white employees worked on drilling crews whereas most Inuit workers were employed as unskilled labourers. The drilling

crews are in effect teams; integrated groups of men essential to the drilling operation. It is therefore necessary for reasons of both safety and efficiency that members of the drilling teams have very dependable work performances. In fact, there is strong peer group pressure as well as official sanctions toward such work dependability. These kinds of pressures were not only non-existent for Inuit workers; in fact, the labour pool arrangement encouraged opposite types of performances.

Work Performance

The performance of both Inuit and white workers was measured in three ways from rating forms completed by worker supervisors. A first scale asked supervisors to rate workers on how well they performed their job. Results of these ratings are summarized in Table 16.

Table 16

Supervisors Ratings of Work Peformance of Inuit and White Workers During 1973-74 Season (Percentages)

Supervisors Rating	Inuit	White
(7) One of the best	4.5	6.3
(6) Excellent	26.9	22.2
(5) Good	29.9	38.1
(4) Average	17.9	30.2
(3) Weak, slightly below average	11.9	3.2
(2) Poor, well below average	7.5	0.0
(1) One of the worst	1.5	0.0
Mean	4.6	5.0

This table demonstrates that although there are some differences between white and Inuit work performance ratings, these differences are not very pronounced. Slightly more Inuit workers (31 per cent) than white workers (28 per cent) were rated as either "excellent" or "one of the best". The Inuit were slightly underrepresented in the lower rated categories including "good". It might be argued that if age and skill level could be controlled within these ratings, the showing of the Inuit workers would be even better than it is. This argument rests on the fact that Inuit workers were generally younger and were certainly involved in less interesting job categories than the majority of the white workers.

A second aspect of work performance measured on supervisor rating scales probed how well Inuit and white workers stood up to the stresses and strains resulting from working in an Arctic environment. These data are found in Table 17.

Table 17

Supervisors Ratings of Ability to Withstand Stresses and Strains of Working in Arctic, 1973-74 for Inuit and White Workers (Percentages)

Supervisor Rating	Inuit	White
(7) One of the best	17.9	4.8
(6) Excellent	31.3	20.6
(5) Good	16.4	34.9
(4) Average	16.4	28.6
(3) Weak, slightly below average	14.9	11.1
(2) Poor, well below average	3.0	0.0
(1) One of the worst	0.0	0.0
Mean	5.1	4.7

The data demonstrate that on this aspect of work performance the Inuit workers out-performed the white workers. Forty-nine per cent of the Inuit workers were rated in one of the top two categories on this scale as compared to 25 per cent of the white workers. At the other extreme, 18 per cent of the Inuit workers, as compared to 11 per cent of the white workers, were rated as below average in their ability to withstand the stress of Arctic work conditions. Again, if the age and experience structure of the Inuit workers was closer to that of the whites, the superiority of the Inuit workers would probably have been demonstrated more sharply.

A third and final indicator of work performance is measured by whether the workers supervisors nominated them for inclusion as members of a first rate crew. On this scale the white workers clearly out-classed the Inuit employees. Forty-three per cent of the Inuit workers were nominated as possible members of the first rate crew, whereas some 64 per cent of the white sample were likewise nominated.

Camp Citizenship

A final indicator of on-the-job response was measured by asking the supervisors to rate workers as to how friendly, co-operative, and considerate a worker was while working and living on the rig sites. These findings are summarized in Table 18. This table shows that, on the average, there is little difference between white and Inuit workers on camp citizenship ratings. It is interesting to note that in the top two rating categories there are nearly 20 per cent more Inuit men than whites. In the less impressive rating categories the Inuit workers are similarly overrepresented. This result is interesting

Table 18

Supervisors Ratings of Inuit and White Workers on "Camp Citizenship" During the 1973-74 Season (Percentages)

Supervisor Rating	Inuit	White
(7) One of the best	7.5	7.9
(6) Excellent	41.8	20.6
(5) Good	14.9	36.5
(4) Average	14.9	30.2
(3) Weak, slightly below average	13.4	3.2
(2) Poor, well below average	7.5	1.6
(1) One of the worst	0.0	0.0
Mean	4.9	5.0

when it is remembered that the Inuit sample was not selected for any particular adaptive qualities. Presumably if there were some pre-employment selection procedures to separate out less desirable employees, the Inuit workers would show an extraordinarily better performance than white workers as camp citizens.

SUMMARY INTERPRETATION ABOUT INUIT ON-THE-JOB PERFORMANCE

The findings regarding Inuit responses to the on-the-job demands of an industrial work setting are worth reviewing. It is important to remember that, in this study, the Inuit performance is being considered in a comparative context and the group they are being compared with, southern white workers, comprise a sample selected particularly for their adaptive capabilities. This rigorous comparison group tends to

make the Inuit on-the-job responses appear less impressive than would otherwise be the case.

The conservative nature of reported Inuit employment performance is also enhanced by the fact that most native workers held unskilled labour positions. The reverse situation was true of the southern white workers. Since work satisfaction is generally related to skill level of the job (Banfield, 1968), the unskilled nature of Inuit employment has a tendency to decrease on-the-job satisfaction and performance. Unfortunately, since in the employment setting Inuit and white workers were clearly divided along unskilled and skilled worker categories, comparison of the two groups holding job skill level constant was impossible. In any case, the conservative effect of the Inuit lower job skill level on their employment satisfaction and performance ratings deserves mention.

On a first subjective indicator, the desire to work again in the coming season, the Inuit reported that they were slightly more certain than whites in their intentions to return for continued employment. With respect to a variety of particular employment conditions, the native and white workers showed themselves to be essentially similar in their responses. In general, both groups were satisfied with the employment conditions, although the Inuit responded more favourably than whites to some aspects, like food and free time. The white workers reported themselves to be more favourable toward other aspects, like work activity and relations with white bosses and co-workers.

In probing worker responses to being separated from home,

family, and community while at work, the data showed that there were psychological costs incurred by both groups. Although both groups generally reported that they were concerned about being separated from home, the Inuit workers reported themselves to be somewhat less disturbed than southern white employees.

The conclusion, that there are personal costs which accompany employment on the oil rig sites, was substantiated from the interview items asking about worker worries while on the job. Both groups reported that they worried about a variety of things while they were away from the people and places they cared for most. On this dimension the Inuit workers showed themselves to be slightly more concerned over wife, family, and friends than were white workers.

In short, although there were some slight differences between the two groups responses to various subjective aspects of their work, the groups were, in general, essentially similar. This finding is substantiated by the more objective measures of on-the-job performance.

Work duration was operationalized as the total time a worker was employed during the employment season. On this measure the average performances of both white and Inuit groups were alike. A similar conclusion results when work persistence was measured as either the tendency to work until the end of the employment season, or when terminating, to do so for legitimate rather than non-legitimate reasons. With work dependability, as measured by the number of interruptions in regular employment rotations, Inuit workers showed themselves to perform less dependably than white workers. But, as previous discussion pointed out, this finding might have been anticipated even

before the Inuit started employment as a result of the structure of the Inuit employment programme.

A final indicator of on-the-job response, work performance, was measured in four ways from ratings supplied by worker supervisors. On ratings of how well they performed their jobs, the whites were rated as performing in a fashion slightly superior to the Inuit. Nonetheless, both groups were well rated even though Inuit workers were involved in distinctly more menial job placements. On a second rating scale, how well workers responded to the stresses and strains of Arctic employment, both groups again rated well, although on this dimension Inuit performances were superior to that of whites. In terms of whether their supervisor would nominate them for inclusion on a first rate crew, the white workers rated significantly better than natives. And, finally, on camp citizenship ratings, the Inuit were rated in the highest categories, but also in the lowest categories, much more often than the whites.

The overall pattern from this collection of findings points to the conclusion that Inuit workers performed generally about as well as white workers on the job sites. In brief, then, the findings of this section tend to support the optimistic rather than the pessimistic viewpoint about the possibility of successful Inuit on-the-job adjustment to industrial wage employment opportunities, particularly given the differences in selectivity between the two samples which we have noted.

TESTING FACTORS RELEVANT TO ON-THE-JOB ADJUSTMENT

The competing positions concerning the relevance of schooling and other factors to employment discussed in Chapter 2 were tested in this study by analyzing the relationship between various independent variables and the dependent variable 'on-the-job work performance". As explained in the analysis section of Chapter 5, various indicators of on-the-job work performance were combined in an additive, linear fashion. This procedure was followed in an attempt to simplify the available data into useful indices of on-the-job adjustment. In this manner, two indices of the dependent variable were generated. First, an index containing the subjective responses of native workers was established. Second, an index using the objective indicators of work adjustment was generated.

Although a large number of measures were used in a first analysis of possibly relevant independent variables, only six variables remained after initial sorting. The remainder were found to have insignificant relations with on-the-job adjustment.[7] The six variables found to have relevance to on-the-job adjustment were age, number of dependents, years of schooling, trapping intimacy, total previous employment experience, and previous experience with oil companies. These independent variables were operationalized in the following manner. 'Number of dependents' signified the total number of persons being directly supported by a workers earnings. Usually the number of dependents simply included the wife and children of the worker.

'Previous experience with oil companies' measured the total number of months experience an employee had worked on or around oil rigs. 'Schooling' was measured as the total number of years of schooling the respondent had. 'Total previous work experience' was measured as the number of months of wage employment experience a worker had. 'Trapping intimacy' was operationalized as the number of years since the respondent had last trapped full time. Finally, 'age' was measured by the number of years since birth.

Tables 27 and 28 in the Appendix provide a correlation matrix as well as the means and standard deviations for these six independent variables. In an attempt to establish whether these variables were related to one another in a meaningful way, the six variable matrix in Table 27 was factor analyzed. This factor analysis yielded the matrix for factor loadings after rotation contained in Table 19.[8]

Table 19

Factor Structure Background Characteristics of Inuit Workers*

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
Age	0.84	0.20
Number of dependents	0.80	0.12
Years of schooling	-0.62	-0.25
Trapping intimacy	0.63	0.07
Wage employment experience	-0.01	0.98
Previous oil exploration experience	0.09	0.64

*Eigenvalues and percentage of explained variance for the factor solution are contained in Table 29 of the Appendix.

From this table it is evident that the six independent variables are clustered around two principal factors. On Factor 1, age, number of dependents, and trapping intimacy show high positive loadings while years of schooling has a high negative loading. On Factor 2, total previous wage employment exposure and previous experience with oil exploration show high positive loadings, while years of schooling has a relatively small negative loading.[9]

Conceptually, Factor 1 can be viewed as characteristic of older Inuit who have more trapping experience and dependents and less schooling, or as characteristic of younger Inuit with greater schooling and fewer dependents and trapping experience. In the same manner, Factor 2 can be viewed as typical of either Inuit having relatively greater amounts of previous oil exploration and wage employment experience, or of those with lesser amounts of these two attributes.[10]

There are two principal factors, then, that can be viewed as meaningful independent dimensions on which the Inuit workers differ. The next step in the analysis will be to examine how these dimensions are related to on-the-job adjustment. Before proceeding, however, it is useful to attach names or labels to these two factors.

One extreme of the continuum represented by Factor 1 characterizes older Inuit who have more dependents and trapping experience, and less schooling. One label which might be used to identify this dimension is "traditional orientation" for it encompasses the family and trapping orientation as well as the lack of schooling existent among traditionally oriented Inuit. The continuum represented by Factor 2 focuses principally on wage employment

experience either with oil companies or other industries. Quite obviously, one reasonable label that can be used to identify this dimension is "wage employment experience". It is worth reiterating that the "traditional orientation" and "wage employment experience" factors were produced through orthogonal factor rotation. This means that the factors are independent of one another and, as such, a score on one dimension is quite unrelated to a score on the other dimension.

Using the factor score coefficients from the scores presented in Table 19, two new summary independent variables, traditional orientation and wage employment experience, were created for each Inuit worker in the sample. These two new variables, which describe meaningful dimensions on which the Inuit workers differed, were then related to both subjective on-the-job adjustment and objective on-the-job adjustment.

Since more than one independent variable is being related to each measure of the dependent variable, multiple regression is an appropriate technique for estimating the relative importance of traditional orientation and wage employment experience to each measure of the work adjustment dependent variable (Nie, et. al., 1975:320-328). The initial correlation matrix of these four variables is presented in Table 20.

First, traditional orientation and wage employment were regressed against subjective on-the-job adjustment.[11] The results of this analysis are summarized in Table 21.

Table 20

Correlation Matrix of Measures of the Independent and Dependent Variables

Variable Number	1	2	3	4
1	1.00			
2	0.04	1.00		
3	0.16	0.46	1.00	
4	-0.12	0.35	0.00	1.00

Legend: Number 1: Subjective on-the-job adjustment
Number 2: Objective on-the-job adjustment
Number 3: Traditional orientation
Number 4: Wage employment experience

Table 21

Multiple Regression Between Independent Variables and Subjective on-the-job Adjustment

Independent Variable	Multiple R	R Squared	R^2 Change	Simple R	Beta
Traditional orientation	0.16	0.03	0.03	0.16	0.16
Wage employment experience	0.19	0.04	0.01	-0.12	-0.12

In Table 21 two points deserve mention. First, the simple correlation coefficients show that both independent variables are weakly related to subjective work satisfaction. The traditional orientation variable is slightly associated (0.16) with increases in subjective on-the-job

adjustment. Increase in the other independent factor, wage employment experience, is associated with slight decreases (-0.12) in subjective on-the-job adjustment. Secondly, it is worth noting that, in conjunction, both variables only account for 4 per cent of the total variation in subjective on-the-job adjustment. In short, the data in Table 21 suggest that our data tells us very little about the influences affecting Inuit subjective satisfaction with their wage employment situation.

Table 22 presents the results of these same two independent variables as they relate to objective on-the-job Inuit work adjustment. From Table 22 it is evident that traditional orientation and wage employment experience explain considerably more of the variation in the objective aspects of on-the-job adjustment. Together, these two variables account for one third (r^2=0.34) of the variation in this measure of the dependent variable. Moreover, traditional orientation

Table 22

Multiple Regression Between Independent Variables and Objective on-the-job Adjustment

Independent Variable	Multiple R	R Squared	R^2 Change	Simple R	Beta
Traditional orientation	0.46	0.21	0.21	0.46	0.46
Wage employment experience	0.58	0.34	0.13	0.35	0.35

(r=0.46) is considerably more important to increasing objective on-the-job performance than is previous wage employment experience (r=0.35). The former variable accounts for 21 per cent of the dependent measure's variation while the latter accounts for 13 per cent.

DISCUSSION OF FACTORS RELEVANT TO ON-THE-JOB ADJUSTMENT

A central question posed in Chapter 2 asked: What factors are related to successful Inuit work performance and satisfaction? This chapter has examined the relationship of two such factors, traditional orientation and wage employment experience, to both subjective and objective on-the-job work adjustment. It is worth repeating that the type of subjective and objective adjustment discussed in this chapter was to a particular type of on-the-job setting. Inuit in this study were primarily engaged in performing manual labour involving menial tasks. In short, their adjustment was related to unskilled types of labour.

From the analysis presented in this chapter, it is evident that neither traditional orientation nor previous wage employment experience are very related to Inuit subjective adjustment to their employment. Of the small relationships that do exist, a traditional orientation tends to slightly increase workers' subjective acceptance of their jobs. Perhaps this increased acceptance occurs because Inuit with more traditional orientations have a more stoic philosophy, and such attitudes may increase subjective adaptation to almost any conditions. On the other hand, perhaps the greater exposure of younger, less traditionally oriented Inuit to schooling and other

influences has made them less willing and capable of accepting and adjusting to unskilled, unchallenging employment opportunities.

The other factor, previous wage employment experience, is related to slight decreases in subjective adjustment by Inuit workers. This may occur because conditions of previous wage employment, especially proximity to home and family, may have made the conditions of oil exploration employment appear comparatively less desirable. Such a comparison would likely increase the feeling of relative deprivation among Inuit workers, and tend to decrease their acceptance of present opportunities. For many Inuit workers, however, their only previous wage employment exposure prior to the time of this study was to oil exploration employment. In these cases it is possible that, over time and with increased exposure to the same unskilled labour activity, a progressive dissatisfaction is experienced by the employees. Where workers may have been comparatively satisfied to begin with, their increased exposure to unskilled wage employment on oil exploration sites may eventually leave them feeling more disgruntled with such employment.[12]

These scenarios provide possible explanations for the observed structure of the relations between traditional orientation, wage employment experience, and subjective on-the-job adjustment. In any case, the central point is that neither of the variables is able to account for very much of the variation in Inuit workers subjective acceptance of their employment. Thus, within the limits of this study, we are not able to identify any factors associated with increased subjective on-the-job adjustment among native workers.

Measures of traditional orientation and wage employment experience are strongly related to objective on-the-job adjustment by Inuit workers. In combination, these two variables account for 34 per cent of the variation in objective adjustment scores. Although both variables are positively related to work performance, traditional orientation is the more important of the two variables because it accounts for 21 per cent of the variation. Wage employment experience, although less important, is still a significant variable affecting work performance because it accounts for 13 per cent of the variation.

These findings suggest that older, more traditionally oriented Inuit show better performances working at unskilled routinized labouring jobs than do their younger, better schooled counterparts. Again, it may be that the stoic philosophy of more traditionally oriented Inuit renders them more capable of reliable and satisfactory performances on undemanding, unskilled jobs. On the other hand, the situation of fewer dependents, more schooling, and younger age of less traditionally oriented workers likely combine to make menial, boring labour positions considerably less suitable, attractive, and demanding. Thus, we would expect that their work performance would suffer.

Previously, wage employment experience was shown to be negatively related to subjective acceptance of oil exploration employment by Inuit workers. Such work experience, however, shows a significant positive association to objective work performance. These findings suggest that although wage employment experience may not make such employment more desirable, it does increase the effectiveness of the work performance.

This study has not been able to successfully identify factors which are strongly associated to subjective acceptance of the type of employment available to Inuit workers on oil exploration sites. Objective work performances, however, were found to be positively related with increases in both traditional orientation and wage employment experience of Inuit workers. The fact that traditional orientation is the more important of these two factors suggests that experience and cognitive characteristics like reliability and stoic acceptance that accompany such an orientation may be even more important than particular skills which may have been acquired through previous experience in adjusting to and performing unskilled labour.

The fact that schooling is negatively associated with both factors which show any relation to on-the-job adjustment deserves comment. First, it should be remembered that, among Inuit in this study, the average amount of exposure was quite low (3.5 years). A significant proportion (28 per cent) of the older men had little or no schooling, while only a small proportion (8 per cent) finished high school. This unique situation, by North American standards, was brought about by the relatively recent introduction of schooling generally, and day schools in particular, to the Northwest Territories. Among the Inuit, then, schooling has not been extensive enough to really give this variable a chance to show its full importance to wage employment.

Secondly, it must be remembered that Inuit in this study were adjusting to a very particular type of wage employment. This employment involved working far away from home, for extended periods, at

unskilled, menial labour jobs. In such a setting, at this type of job, it is obvious that many acquisitions from increased schooling will be of little direct relevance. In fact, under these conditions, increased schooling may tend to be dysfunctional to the extent that schooling, among other things, increases expectations and aspirations of finding and acquiring better employment opportunities. In short, then, the findings of this study concerning the association of schooling with on-the-job adjustment must be taken within a particular employment context.

In conclusion, the negligible opportunities for Inuit to engage in skilled or managerial jobs, and the lack of circumstances necessary for the widespread acquisition of extensive schooling, make any findings from this study concerning the association of schooling and other factors to on-the-job adjustment very particularistic. Future expectations about increases in the supply of better job opportunities, as well as the number of well qualified Inuit available to fill these positions, will likely, and hopefully, change the nature of the relevant variables and associations reported in this study.

Chapter 7

COMMUNITY CHANGES

DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY CHANGES

As discussed in the methodology chapter, this study contains two types of data on community changes. One source of data is self-report and derives from interviews conducted with a sample of wives and children of Inuit workers in both Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet. These data are reviewed in the section on "Family Perceptions". The other data assessing community changes are more objective and derive principally from various indicators collected from published Territorial and federal government statistics. These data are summarized in the section entitled "Community Indicators". Both of these sources describing the community impact of Inuit contact with wage employment are presented below.

Family Perceptions

Chapter 5 argued that the family is the fundamental social organizational unit in Inuit society. This fact necessitates that any assessment of change in Inuit communities should contain some indication of how this social unit is being affected. In this study interview data collected from the wives and children of married Inuit workers provide a measure of the effect industrial wage employment is having on the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay from a social psychological point of view.

Wives Responses. Interviews were conducted with 35 of the 40 wives of men who were interviewed for this study. Sixteen of the interviews with wives came from Pond Inlet, while the other 19 came from Arctic Bay. Most of the wives, like the Inuit men, were young. Forty-three per cent of the women were less than 25 years old; 26 per cent were between the ages of 25 and 30 years; and the remaining 31 per cent were between the ages of 31 and 40 years. Some 29 per cent of the wives had been married between six and 12 years; the final 37 per cent had been married for over 12 years.

The young age of the wives is reflected in the fact that the median number of children born to them was three. Twenty-three per cent had only one child, while two thirds of the wives had no more than three children and only 25 per cent had over five offspring. Of the 35 wives, 18 had never had any education. Of the 17 wives who had any education, eight had only one year of schooling, five had between two and five years, and the remaining four wives had either seven or eight years in the school system. The reactions of these wives to their husbands' employment on the oil rig sites is contained in their responses to a number of questions asked during a formal interview.

First, the wives were asked whether they thought that, in general, employment of the type that their husbands were engaged in was a good thing for their community. Only one of the women interviewed responded negatively to this proposition. Of those who expressed the conviction that wage employment was beneficial to their community, all responded that the reason employment was valuable was because it gave their husbands an opportunity to earn money. As

Chapter 3 pointed out, such employment opportunities, in general, were very limited within the communities. In addition to this initial question, the subject of their husbands' employment was broached from a somewhat more personal viewpoint by asking the women whether they wanted their husbands to work for Pan Arctic before he went for the first time. Responses to this question show that the wives' initial enthusiasm for the type of employment which would take their husbands away for extended periods was qualified. Only 40 per cent of the women responded that they were sure they wanted their husbands to go the first time. Twenty-nine per cent of the women responded that they were somewhat or very sure that they did not want their husbands to go. The remaining 31 per cent of the wives said that they did not know whether or not they wanted their husbands to go, a response that reflects ambivalence.

Of the 14 women who have reasons for wanting their husbands to go away to work, all mentioned that either money or the goods that money could purchase was the reason for their interest. Of the ten women who gave reasons for being reluctant about their husbands first contact with regular wage employment, seven mentioned loneliness, two mentioned that they thought there would be difficulty in getting food, and the remaining woman said that she thought the rate of pay would be insufficient to justify the time and trouble.

The personal reluctance to see their husbands go away for employment expressed by some of the native workers' wives appears to have been quickly dissipated. The wives were asked whether or not they wanted their husbands to work on the oil rig sites in the forthcoming

season. Over 85 per cent of the women answered that they were either very or quite sure that they wanted their husbands to work on the rig sites again. Only five of the wives answered that they were unsure or hesitant about seeing their husbands return.

In addition to responding as to whether or not they would like to see their husbands return to this employment, wives were asked for the reasons for their response. Over 70 per cent of wives who wanted their husbands to return to work gave as the reason the money or goods that could be purchased because of such employment. Two of the wives mentioned that they felt it was just good for their husbands to be employed at some type of work or another, and an additional two wives claimed that by working on the rig sites their husbands would be trained in special skills. Five of the women who did not want their husbands to go back to work with Pan Arctic the following season said it was because their husbands had found employment within their home communities. Only one woman responded that she did not want her husband to return to rotation wage employment because she experienced loneliness while he was away.

Like their husbands, the wives were given the opportunity to choose between alternative rotation schedules. These alternatives expressed choices between more time away from home and more money, less time away from home and less money, and the same rotation period as the previous season.[13] A large proportion of the wives, 43 per cent, expressed an interest in the rotation period involving both the longest time away from home and the most money. Forty per cent of the wives opted for a rotation period the same as the previous years. Only

17 per cent of the women desired the option of having their husbands spend less time away from home and make less earnings.

The positive response by the wives of native workers expressed in these findings is corroborated by another question on employment duration. When asked how long they would like their husbands to work during the following employment season, all but three of the 30 women who answered this question answered that they would like their husbands to be employed for "as long as possible".

In addition to these indicators, the wives of Inuit workers were specifically asked what they liked or disliked about their husbands being employed with oil companies during the previous year. Twenty-eight of the women mentioned that they particularly liked the money or goods they could purchase with their husbands' earnings, four of the women said they liked employment because their husbands wanted to work, and two wives mentioned both of these reasons. Regarding specific dislikes with the employment programme, only six women mentioned that they experienced loneliness while their husbands were away, and one woman mentioned that she had difficulty obtaining enough food while her husband was away.

All of the wives were asked whether they had any troubles while their husbands were away at work. Only three women answered that they had troubles. One of these women mentioned that her trouble was in handling the loss of companionship experienced without her husband. The other two respondents mentioned that they had troubles with other men while their husbands were away from the settlement. On a similar theme, all workers' wives were asked whether they were worried or

unhappy while their husbands were away at work. To this question 25 women answered in the negative, while ten answered affirmatively. Eight of the women who experienced worries or unhappiness said they were lonely, while the remaining two said that they sometimes feared their husbands would not return.

Two other indices of the wives' responses to their husbands' employment on the oil rig sites are contained in the interview schedule. One of these questions concerns whether or not the families of Inuit workers had less meat than in previous years because the men were away for lengthy periods. Sixty per cent of the women responding to this question maintained that their families had a constant, sufficient meat supply. This question of meat from traditional hunting sources, however, will be considered in more detail in the section on community indicators.

The final indicator of wives' satisfaction with their husbands' employment derived from asking if there were any changes in the employment programme that they would like to have instituted. Only six of the workers' wives had any suggestions for changes that they would like to have had implemented in the employment programme. Five of these six wives said that they would like to be able to live on or near the work sites so that they could be closer to their husbands while they were working. The only other change desired came from a woman who, mistakenly, thought that there was not parity between the wage rates for white and Inuit workers and that this should be rectified.

The composite picture derived from all of the responses from the wives of Inuit workers tends to support continued wage employment.

Several of the wives were initially reluctant about having their husbands engaged in such wage employment but this hesitation was gradually overcome because of the money and goods attendant to wage employment. The only wives who did not want their husbands to return to employment were a few whose husbands had found employment within their home communities. The findings show that few family complaints, troubles, fears, and worries were associated with the men's employment for extended periods on rig sites.

It seems fair to conclude from these data, then, that from the perspective of the Inuit workers' wives, wage employment was a generally beneficial experience to both the community and home life of the workers. As the data in the following section demonstrate, this general conclusion is corroborated by the responses given by Inuit children.

Children's Responses. Interviews were conducted with 50 children of Inuit workers from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. The majority of the children interviewed, 36, lived in Arctic Bay and the remaining 14 resided in Pond Inlet.[14] Thirty-two of the children were girls and 18 were boys. Half of all the children were less than ten years old, 30 per cent were aged 11 to 13, and the remaining 20 per cent were between the ages of 14 and 16 years.

When the children were asked if they were happy or unhappy with their fathers being employed on the oil rig sites, the children generally expressed enthusiasm. Thirty-six of the children claimed they were happy, six said they were unhappy, and eight children claimed they were, at one time or another, both happy and unhappy.

When probed about what things made them happy, 34 of the

children responded that it was because of the increased money available in the family, two mentioned they were happy because of the toys they had received, and two more attributed their happiness to less crowded housing. When the children were asked what things made them sad about their fathers being employed, 14 said it was because they missed their fathers or were lonely. The remainder of the children did not respond.

Although these data suggest that some disadvantages were experienced by some of the children because their fathers were employed away from home, the advantages apparently outweighed the costs. This is demonstrated in the children's responses to a question about whether or not they wanted their fathers to go back to work on the oil rig sites the following season. Forty-two of the children, 84 per cent, responded that they did want their fathers to return for more wage employment. All of those favouring their fathers' continued employment did so because they liked either the money or the goods and gifts associated with money earned from employment. Of the eight children who claimed that they did not want their fathers to return to work on the rig sites, six did so because they thought they would be lonely, and the remaining two children said that they wanted to be closer to their father so they could do things together with him.

When the children were asked whether or not they were proud of their fathers being employed with the oil company, all responded that they were proud. Another indicator of the emotional reaction to having their fathers employed was probed by asking questions relating to the children's preferences after they grew up. For instance, the boys were asked whether or not they would like to have a job like their

fathers where they would have to be away from home for three weeks and home for ten days. All of the 18 boys interviewed said that they would like such a job either because of the money they would earn or because they would be able to experience the excitement of travel away from their home communities. The girls were asked whether they would like their husbands to have a job where he rotated to and from his job in a pattern like their fathers were doing. Three quarters of the 32 girls who responded said they would like their husbands to be employed in this manner. Eighteen reported the reason for their positive response was that their husbands would earn plenty of money, four girls said such employment was desirable because it would free them from staying home with their husbands all the time. Among those girls who responded negatively to the idea of having a husband who was employed like their father, eight did so because they would dislike the long absences and loneliness, two reported they would desire better jobs for their husbands than those found on the rig sites, and two said that rotation employment on the oil rig sites was not hard enough work.

All of these children's responses give support to the general notion that, while many of the children miss their fathers while they are away, they do not miss them greatly. It deserves reiteration that interview data collected from Inuit people tend to under-report criticism. Even though this is probably the case in these data, the eagerness for continuing employment expressed in both words and deeds seems quite convincing. It would appear that for the children of Inuit workers, like their mothers, the material benefits resulting from wage employment on the rig sites exceeds the costs associated with this employment.

Effects on the Community at Large

In supplementing the social psychological perceptions just reviewed, this section uses statistics from Territorial and federal government sources to assess the impact wage employment is having on the economic, hunting and trapping, community participation, diet, family health, violence, and living standards of natives in Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet.

Some Economic Consequences. Since its inception the wage employment programme involving Inuit from the two Baffin Island communities under consideration has contributed approximately $1,008,000 in wages to natives from Pond Inlet and $792,000 in wages to natives from Arctic Bay. For Pond Inlet, this represents an average of about $168,000 per year or about $4,100 per worker per year. For Arctic Bay, the average income from wage employment with Pan Arctic has been about $132,000 per year, or $4,125 per worker per year. Remembering the somewhat depressed economic situation in both these communities before wage employment programmes were initiated, this injection of money appears massive. This section provides some indication of how important the wage employment earnings were to the communities and how the money from industrial wage employment was spent by native workers.

Table 23 provides an estimate of the amount of money coming into the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay from various sources during the period August 1st to July 31st for 1973-74 and 1975-76.[15] The estimates of Pan Arctic's income in each of these communities comes from the payroll records supplied by that company. A report by Sparham

Table 23

Estimated Sources of Income into Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay from August 1 to July 31 for 1973-74 and 1975-76 (Dollars)

	Pond Inlet		Arctic Bay	
	1973-74	1975-76*	1973-74	1975-76*
Pan Arctic wages (1)	382,100	333,900	171,200	147,700
Full time work within community (2)	120,000	100,000	40,000	38,000
Part time work within community (2)	30,000	32,000	15,000	14,000
Transfer payments (3)	27,000	33,000	8,500	19,000
Traditional activity (skins, handicrafts) (4)	25,000	22,000	35,000	33,000
Total	584,000	520,000	269,700	251,700
Proportion of total community income from Pan Arctic	66%	61%	64%	59%
Increase in community cash flow due to Pan Arctic employment	189%	179%	173%	142%

(1): Calculated from payroll records of Inuit employees.

(2): Estimated from economic surveys published by Bissett (1967) and Sparham (1974).

(3): Calculated from figures provided by the Department of Social Development, Government of the Northwest Territories.

(4): Estimated from figures provided by the Department of Natural and Cultural Affairs, Government of the Northwest Territories.

*During 1975-76 workers from Arctic Bay made almost $350,000 from wage employment at the new mining site of Strathcona Sound. This new source of wage income has the potential for creating even greater effects than Pan Arctic employment in various North Baffin Inuit communities. This new source of income is one reason why wage employment from Pan Arctic declined in both settlements between 1973-74 and 1975-76. The effects of this project, however, are an additional topic for investigation and, as such, are not included or considered here.

1974 provides the estimate of the income in the communities from both full and part time wage employment supplied locally. Data on monies in the settlements from transfer payments and traditional activities like fur trading and handicrafts came from the Territorial Government.

Table 23 shows that the community income from employment with the oil companies accounts for approximately 60 to 65 per cent of the total income available in each of the native settlements. Stated more emphatically, the income from industrial wage employment had the effect of increasing the money supply in the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay by about 189 per cent and 173 per cent respectively during the 1973-74 year and 179 per cent and 142 per cent during 1975-76. This is without question a massive injection into the local economies of the native communities, especially when considered in contrast to the situation of the settlements described in Chapter 3.

With such a large injection into the local economy, it seems relevant to query the economic consequences of this increased cash flow. There is, however, some difficulty in answering this question because relevant data from the Hudson's Bay store in each of the settlements was simply unavailable. Therefore, this study had to rely on self-reporting of purchases made by native workers and their families in order to make estimates of how the income derived from oil company employment was spent. As will become evident, this procedure turned out to be a very sketchy and inadequate one.

Since the data for this study were collected during the summer and autumn of 1974, the attempt to provide a picture of how wage employment earnings were spent within Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet refers to the

period from early November 1973 to late October 1974. During this period about $382,000 in wages from oil company employment came into Pond Inlet and about $171,000 came into Arctic Bay.

Table 24 summarizes the self-report data given by Inuit workers as to the amount and kinds of items they spent their money on during the period under consideration. On the basis of these figures, it would appear that the Inuit from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay respectively spent about $33,100 and $46,270 on capital equipment purchases like skidoos, boats, motors, guns, and tents. Other major items like furniture, stoves, motorcycles, stereos, and cars accounted for another $18,400 and $15,400 worth of purchases in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay respectively.

Table 24

Estimated Value of Equipment Purchases by Pan Arctic Employees in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, 1973-74 (Dollars)

Item	Estimated Cost of Item	Pond Inlet		Arctic Bay	
Skidoos	1,050	(21)*	22,050	(24)	25,200
Boats	800	(2)	1,600	(7)	5,600
Motors	850	(7)	5,950	(15)	12,750
Guns	100	(13)	2,400	(11)	1,100
Tents	60	(19)	1,140	(27)	1,620
Furniture	150	(8)	1,200	(6)	900
Stoves	300	(5)	1,500	(8)	2,400
Motorcycles	300	(13)	3,900	(9)	2,700
Cars	3,000	(1)	3,000	(1)	3,000
Stereos	400	(22)	8,800	(16)	6,400
	Total		51,540		61,670

*Estimated number of purchases per item contained in parentheses.

A rough measure of how much money was spent by workers on food and clothing during the 1973-74 period can be obtained from using the social assistance schedule supplied by the Department of Health and Welfare of the Territorial Government. Using this schedule it is estimated that about $147,600 were spent for food and clothing by workers from Pond Inlet during the 1973-74 period and about $113,256 were spent on food and clothing by workers from Arctic Bay. Using the graduated rental scale employed by the Northern Rental Housing Programme, it is estimated that about $27,720 of the money earned by Pond Inlet workers was spent on rent and about $21,252 was spent by Arctic Bay residents.

Using information made available by the Liquor Control System of the Northwest Territories, the amount of money spent on alcohol in each of the Inuit communities can be estimated. For Pond Inlet, the figure for the period August 1, 1973 to July 31, 1974 amounts to $11,866 while for Arctic Bay the total amount spent on imported alcohol was $3,551.

These expense figures are summarized in Table 25. It is somewhat

Table 25

Estimates of Pan Arctic Inuit Worker Expenditures for the 1973-74 Season

	Pond Inlet		Arctic Bay	
	$	%	$	%
Food and clothes	147,600	61	113,256	56
Rental	27,720	12	21,252	11
Liquor	11,866	5	3,551	2
Capital equipment	33,140	14	46,270	23
Other goods	18,400	8	15,400	8
Total	238,726	100	199,729	100

difficult to interpret this table because the expenditure patterns for each community are so different. For Pond Inlet, the available data are unable to account for $143,374 of the total income earned from Pan Arctic during 1973-74. On the other hand, the available data show Arctic Bay workers as spending a total of $28,529 more than they earned during 1973-74. Although the fact that these data are different is puzzling, some justifications can be offered.

For both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, estimates of the amount spent for housing rental as well as food and clothing were made from figures suggested by Territorial Government Departments. Especially for food and clothing of Pond Inlet workers, whose mean income was greater than Arctic Bay employees, the average multipliers supplied by the government may have been too small. Given the high cost of food on North Baffin Island, it is possible that the food and clothing expenditure for Pond Inlet workers was significantly underestimated.

The Arctic Bay data suggest that the Inuit workers in this community spent more than they made during the 1973-74 employment season. This could quite possibly be the case for at least two reasons. First, with increased earnings, native workers are likely to be granted more extended credit opportunities at the Hudson's Bay store. This increased opportunity could very well have encouraged them to spend more than they earned, a common pattern in southern Canada. Secondly, even without using extended credit, natives could have spent more than they earned by using savings accumulated from previous employment seasons. Given that these limiting assumptions concerning Table 25 are allowed, some tentative interpretations can be made.

A first interesting observation is that the schedule of expenditures represented in Table 25 does not appear to be particularly unreasonable or irrational. This reasonable distribution of expenditures is interesting because it occurs under quite abnormal conditions; that is, where the surplus money available to the natives for expenditure has been enormous. The example of liquor consumption illustrates this point. Table 25 suggests that liquor expenditures amounted to around 5 and 2 per cent of the accountable expenditures in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay respectively. This does not seem to be a particularly high liquor expenditure when it is remembered that the potential money available to purchase alcohol has increased extraordinarily.

If it can be assumed that the ratio between capital and non-capital expenditures is about the same as appears in Table 25, then another interesting finding becomes evident. This finding is that the native people are spending a significantly greater proportion of their earned income on capital expenditures like skidoos, boats, tents, and guns than they are on other expenditures like furniture, stereos, etc.. It should be noted that the capital expenditures category refers to goods spent on traditionally oriented hunting activities while the non-capital goods category contains expenditures of a less traditional nature. Comparing the relative proportions of capital to non-capital expenditures supports the conclusion that more of the increased money available to Inuit in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay is being spent on goods that promote their traditional hunting and trapping activities than upon non-traditional pursuits. In this respect, the money from wage employment may be encouraging traditional hunting and trapping activities rather than inhibiting them.

These are the available data on the economic effects of wage employment for the communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. Although interpretations from this data must be made with caution, it is evident that money from oil exploration wage employment has injected massive sums into the economic system of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. The available data suggest that this increase in spending power is not being used in a particularly unusual system of expenditures. Interpretations made from expenditures on liquor and hunting and trapping goods suggest that the increased wage employment earnings may be promoting traditional activities like hunting and are not being overrepresented in potentially harmful expenditures such as alcohol.

Welfare Payments. Previous sections have demonstrated that federal government policy in the North was based on the principle that native people should not remain the wards of the government. Specifically, the government deemed that increasing employment opportunities is the most desirable manner in which northern natives could achieve economic independence. Recent wage employment income into communities like Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay provide an opportunity to observe how welfare payments have changed with increasing wage employment. Table 26 demonstrates how welfare payments in both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay have changed since Pan Arctic wage employment became available to residents of these communities.

An important point to observe in Table 26 is whether or not less welfare is being granted as wage employment opportunities increased for community members. Previous to 1973, the erratic yearly fluctuations make the results difficult to interpret. Other than for 1971-72,

Table 26

Welfare Payments to Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay
1970 to 1975 (Dollars)

	Arctic Bay	Pond Inlet
1970-71	16,835	12,642
1971-72	20,021	8,244
1972-73	11,550	11,692
1973-74	8,023	27,128
1974-75	12,849	41,723

Source: Calculated from figures provided by the Department of Social Development, Government of the Northwest Territories.

Arctic Bay would appear to have generally decreased its welfare recipients once wage employment became available. Pond Inlet represents a different picture, however. For Pond Inlet, the erratic changes, and especially the large increase in welfare payments between 1972-73 and 1973-74, have no ready explanation.

According to the Northwest Territories Department of Social Development, between 1973 and 1975 the amount of the average welfare payment in the North increased by a factor of three. Previous to 1973, the average payment increased only slightly from year to year. The three fold increase in the basic payment would appear to account for the dramatic increase in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay welfare payments between 1973-74 and 1974-75. Since welfare payments in both these communities between 1973-74 and 1974-75 less than doubled, it is reasonable to assume that, for these years, wage employment was associated with a relative decrease in welfare recipients.

Subsistence Hunting Changes. The fact that several Inuit men from each community were spending up to two thirds of their time away at work has potential for disrupting the traditional subsistence hunting patterns in the settlements. Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay were, during the 1960's, sufficiently unacculturated that meat from hunting and trapping played an important part in the subsistence patterns of both populations. It is possible that an abrupt change in the availability of money in these communities might change people's perception of traditional subsistence hunting. If traditional subsistence hunting was suddenly devalued, it would represent a break in the cultural heritage of the communities. For this reason, as well as the possibility that a significant decrease in hunting activity may cause shortages in native diets, it is worth examining how subsistence hunting patterns in Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet have been affected since extensive wage employment became available.

A first indicator of how wage employment subsistence hunting was affected came from the interviews with the wives of native workers. These women were asked whether their families had less meat from hunting because their husbands were employed and could not or would not go hunting as often. Forty per cent of the women interviewed reported that they did experience a decrease in the amount of country food their families had. This finding, however, is subject to a qualified interpretation.

The government game officer in Pond Inlet who is familiar with the hunting conditions in both Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet reported that, although game is less plentiful in the winter than summer months, the

minimum of ten days spent at home would provide sufficient time for hunters to acquire a supply of meat for their families. He also reports that, at least in Pond Inlet, no apparent shortage of meat occurred since men had started their employment with Pan Arctic. Consequently, it may be reasonable to infer that the women who said they had less meat were not really experienced a scarcity. A more reasonable interpretation might be that they were just experiencing less of an abundance than in the past. This interpretation is corroborated by other evidence.

When the native workers were asked how often they went hunting while they were at home on their rotation break, 21 per cent reported that they went hunting every time and 24 per cent reported that they hunted most of the time. Forty-eight per cent of the workers responded that they only hunted once in a while, and 7 per cent said they never hunted while they were home on their breaks. These figures are interesting for two reasons. First, since 45 per cent of the native workers were hunting all or most of the time on their rotation breaks, there is a basis for a conclusion that wage employment is contributing to a break with the traditional interest in hunting. On the other hand, if wage employment was affecting severe meat shortages among the families of these workers, it would seem likely that less than the remaining 55 per cent of the men would be hunting only occasionally or not at all. Shortages would most likely induce the majority of the men to hunt as often as they could when they were at home.

One interpretation of the effects of wage employment on subsistence hunting in the native communities might be that, although there may be a tendency for some workers' families to have less meat,

this is not a particularly severe consequence. Most women want their husbands to return to the rig sites for more wage employment. Hunting continues to be an active pursuit of many Inuit who are employed on the rigs. As Table 22 demonstrated, workers are spending a significant proportion of their income on skidoos, tents, guns, boats, and motors which make the hunting process more effective. For those families which reported some decline in the availability of country food, this decline seems principally due to the preference of the husbands to hunt when and if they pleased. In short, perhaps the effect of rotational wage employment has been to reduce the compulsion for necessary hunting, and turn the continuing experience of the hunt into a more leisurely pursuit.

Diet. Another area of possible social disruption due to the increase in the amount of money available to Inuit families is diet changes. Hoyt (1956) and Mead (1953) have both noted that a deterioration in the nutritional patterns of indigenous peoples tends to accompany their shift from a subsistence to a cash economy. Perhaps the wages from steady employment on the oil exploration sites is affecting similar disruption on the consumption patterns of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Inuit.

The data available to test this hypothesis are again inadequate because of the Hudson's Bay Company's reluctance to release statistics on quantities of items purchased. Nonetheless, some attempt at answering this question can be made.

First, informal interviews with several white residents in the Inuit communities contained the judgement that there had been a general deterioration in the diet of the Inuit, especially among children,

accompanying the increase in money from wage employment. Participant observation supports this judgement. For example, Inuit children in both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay appear to have an inordinate amount of money that they regularly spend at the Hudson's Bay store for food items of low nutritional quality like pop, potato chips, candy, et cetera. The nurses in these settlements concur that the Inuit children have very unhealthy sets of teeth, presumably a by-product of their consumption patterns.

The limited data available from the Hudson's Bay Company supports the view that, since wage employment has become a regular part of the economic life of these Inuit communities, yearly increasing amounts of money have been spent on food bought at their stores. Table 27 summarizes these data. This table shows that the percentage increases spent in the Hudson's Bay stores in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay for both food and non-food items have been rapid since the wage employment programme's inception. Remembering that Table 27 contains percentage increases, the actual changes in money spent on food from the Hudson's Bay store accompanying regular wage employment have been extraordinarily large since each yearly percentage increase compounds the increase of the previous year.

In particular, since 1969, Pond Inlet Inuit increased their food expenditures 359 per cent while they increased non-food expenditures 400 per cent. Over the same period, Arctic Bay Inuit increased their food expenditure 376 per cent and their non-food expenditure 570 per cent. These increases are large and can be integrated with findings reported earlier. Wage employment has dramatically increased

Table 27

Hudson's Bay Company Percentage Increase in Sales for Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay

	Pond Inlet		Arctic Bay	
	Food	Non-Food	Food	Non-Food
Year ended September 30:				
1970	23.0*	22.6	48.2	50.7
1971	21.1	15.8	10.0	18.2
1972	22.3	49.8	22.6	30.9
1973	46.8	31.0	42.8	47.1
1974	34.9	42.1	30.9	68.1
Total increase from 1969 to 1974	359%	400%	376%	570%

*Base Line Year ended September 30, 1969.

the spending power of natives in both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay but, in both settlements, it appears that more money has been spent on non-food, capital equipment items which promote traditional hunting activities.

Careful inspection of Table 27 shows that expenditures increase with the amount of employment available for community members. For example, when the employment programme began in 1970, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay increased expenditures over the previous year approximately 23 per cent and 50 per cent respectively. After this initial increase, the amount of employment available on the rig sites did not substantially increase until the 1972-73 employment season. After this point, increases in expenditures by community members also began to increase sharply.

Liquor Consumption. In many native settlements in the Northwest Territories liquor consumption has been a problem associated with development (Gemini North, 1974). Table 28 presents the available monthly dollar total of liquor shipped into Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay from the liquor control outlet in Frobisher Bay. There are two possible ways to assess how much of liquor consumption within these Inuit communities is associated with wage employment. A first procedure is to compare the amount of liquor consumed during the periods of extensive and non-extensive employment. This can be done because there are seasonal variations in the amount of employment available on the rig sites. A second procedure involves an examination of liquor consumption patterns in these settlements over time.

Throughout the 12 month period August 1, 1973 to July 31, 1974 the data in Table 28 demonstrate that Pond Inlet received $11,866 of imported liquor from Frobisher Bay. This figure can be translated into about $21.58 per capita for this 12 month period or a figure of $1.80 per person per month. During the same period, some $3,551 worth of liquor were shipped from Frobisher Bay to Arctic Bay. This figure equals about $11.72 per person for the 12 month period or an average consumption of $0.98 per person per month.

During the period of extensive oil exploration employment, November 1, 1973 to June 30, 1974, the cost of liquor consumed within Pond Inlet equalled about $1.92 per person per month. In Arctic Bay during this same period, the per person per month cost figure was $1.02. During the off season months in these communities, Pond Inlet residents consumed an average of $1.55 per person per month while in

Table 28

Monthly Liquor Sales to Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay from Frobisher Bay, June 1973-October 1975 (Dollars)

	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
June, 1973	252.20	301.90
July, 1973	980.45	92.00
August, 1973	692.95	142.80
September, 1973	748.45	243.75
October, 1973	996.00	403.45
November, 1973	1,843.20	279.30
December, 1973	1,091.30	478.36
January, 1974	711.20	471.55
February, 1974	900.00*	185.00
March, 1974	1,104.20	265.20
April, 1974	1,660.50	166.25
May, 1974	986.85	606.30
June, 1974	1,053.65	52.15
July, 1974	967.50	257.10
July 1974 - October 1975	14,304.00	3,353.00
Total between August 1, 1973 and July 31, 1974	11,866.00	3,551.00

*Estimated

Arctic Bay the figure was $0.88.

Comparing the on and off season per capita consumption, it is evident that in both communities somewhat more alcohol was consumed during the periods of extensive employment. In the case of Pond Inlet this increase amounted to an average of $0.37 per person per month, and in Arctic Bay the increase was $0.14 per person per month. Further, however, it is evident that differences in alcohol consumption between heavy employment and non-employment months is not very significant.

In Pond Inlet, where the differences are greatest, a differential of $0.37 per person per month hardly amounts to more than a few drinks extra per month even for the largest alcohol consumers.

It might be concluded from the variation in consumption within a given year that wage employment is not having a very significant effect on the alcohol consumption patterns of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay natives. In fact, the differences between on and off season consumption patterns are so small that it seems plausible that the differences are due to seasonal variation. The period of extensive employment is winter when it is also cold and dark. These conditions would seem to be more condusive to more indoor activity, which may include drinking. In the summer off season, when people can get outdoors more easily, other interests take precedence. Perhaps, then, even the small differences in alcohol consumption between extensive and slack employment periods are not due to increased stresses and strains accompanying wage employment.

The differences in alcohol consumption in the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay between years are difficult to assess. The Territorial Liquor Control Board cannot supply figures that go back before 1973. Nonetheless, an indirect picture of how the introduction of wage employment affected liquor consumption may be established. Since no published statistics are available, let us assume that the onset of wage employment was associated with significant social disruption in these native communities and that, as a consequence, alcohol consumption rose dramatically. Even if this were so, comparative statistics suggest that liquor consumption in these communities returned to a low rate very quickly. For example, during the 1973-74

period under consideration, the average per person per month consumption was about $1.00 in the case of Arctic Bay and almost $2.00 in Pond Inlet. These statistics are very low when compared to the average for the Northwest Territories as a whole which is approximately $16.00 per person per month.

Furthermore, recent additional data on alcohol consumption in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay demonstrate an interesting trend. For Pond Inlet, the data on liquor consumption during the period from July 1974 through October 1975 show that $14,304 worth of liquor were imported into the community. This averages to a per capita per month value of $1.63; that is, a 10 per cent decrease over the $1.80 per capita per month value for the 1973-74 employment season. This finding is particularly interesting since comparison of the import values for the period April through July 1973 (the earliest monthly values available) with those for the same months in 1974 shows an 88 per cent increase between 1973 and 1974 for the April - July period, from $2,486.00 to $4,669.00. In brief, recent Pond Inlet data show a decline in liquor consumption even in uncorrected dollar terms. If an adjustment were made for liquor price increases after 1973, this decline would be even more pronounced.

For July, 1974 through October, 1975, $3,353.00 worth of liquor was imported into Arctic Bay. This total averages to a per capita per month value of $0.69. This value reflects a very substantial decrease over the $0.98 per capita per month value for the 1973-74 work season. This decline is particularly significant in view of the fact that construction of Strathcona Sound mine began in 1974. This project

offered summer employment opportunities to men who would not normally have them, and made wage employment available very close to the settlement for those who did not want to separate themselves from their families for long periods and over great distances.

Violent Wounding. The number of violent woundings is another possible indicator of social disruption that may be associated with the introduction of wage employment. For Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay the frequency of violent woundings for the year previous to the onset of the wage employment programme, 1969-70, through the year 1973-74, are contained in Table 29. The first thing to be noted in Table 29 is that frequencies are relatively small. However, from this table it is evident that the onset of wage employment in Arctic Bay is not associated with any increase in the number of violent woundings. The figures for

Table 29

Frequency of Wounds Requiring Suturing in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, 1969-74

	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
1969-70	19*	3*
1970-71	35	3
1971-72	15	2
1972-73	36	3
1973-74	13**	3**

*Estimated for November and December because the data were unavailable.

**Estimated for August through October because the data were unavailable.

Pond Inlet, on the other hand, do show some considerable yearly variation. From these yearly changes, however, there appears to be no basis for positing any trend. Consequently, from the available data on violent woundings, one interpretation is that the introduction of wage employment for the men of these communities has not been associated with any trend toward increased violence and social disruption.

Court Convictions. One R.C.M.P. station, situation in Pond Inlet, services both the native communities under consideration. For administrative reasons, the number of convictions since 1969-70 layed in the magistrates court against native people from both of these communities are reported together. The frequency of convictions for these native settlements are contained in Table 30. Again, the first thing to be noted about Table 30 is that the frequencies are small. Second, reports from white residents in Arctic Bay corroborate the conclusion of the R.C.M.P. officer in Pond Inlet that there are only very rare incidents of legal disorder in Arctic Bay. Therefore, most of the convictions reported in Table 30 refer to the Inuit of Pond Inlet.

Table 30

Frequency of Convictions in Magistrate's Court for Pond Inlet, 1969-75

	Frequency
1969-70	4
1970-71	1
1971-72	2
1972-73	24
1973-74	30
1974-75	31

The data in Table 30 do show a significant increase in the number of magistrate's convictions in recent years. The R.C.M.P. report that virtually all of these convictions result from alcohol related offenses. Therefore, it seems reasonable to believe that increased money from wage employment probably increased alcohol consumption, resulting in a number of disorderly incidents. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be tested because the pre-1973 data on alcohol consumption are not available. Using this hypothesis, however, it would appear that wage employment in these communities has been associated with an increase in the number of court convictions.

There is, however, an alternative explanation forwarded by long term white residents which competes with this interpretation. One competing explanation is that there has recently been an increase in the tendency of Inuit to lay charges against offenders. This trend may be an indicator of a breakdown of solidarity and in-group social control. Whatever the cause, however, R.C.M.P. officials are confident that an increasingly legalistic attitude among the Inuit is occurring. This trend may well account for some of the recent increases in court convictions.

Child Neglect. Chapter 5 argued that a reasonable indicator of child neglect can be inferred from the incidents of respiratory infections among pre-school children. An inspection of the variations of the incidents of pre-school child respiratory infections demonstrated that no significant within year variations existed for either Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay. A summary table of the yearly total respiratory infections in the two Inuit settlements for the years 1969-70 through 1973-74 is presented in Table 31.

Table 31

Frequency of Respiratory Infections Among Pre-School Children in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay for the Years 1969-74

	Pond Inlet		Arctic Bay	
1969-70	173*,**	138***	278*,**	178***
1970-71	183		129	
1971-72	135		47	
1972-73	90		96	
1973-74	162****		122****	

*Estimated for November and December.

** This very high frequency is explained by an influenza epidemic in March, 1970. This epidemic accounted for 35 cases of pre-school respiratory infection in Pond Inlet and 100 cases in Arctic Bay. We are confident that these cases do not reflect child neglect.

***Frequency of respiratory infections adjusted for the effects of the influenza epidemic.

****Estimated for August through October.

The data in this table can be interpreted in essentially the same manner as those found in Table 29 which measured the incidents of violent woundings. In short, for both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, the between year variations in respiratory infection fluctuate enormously. However, this fluctuation appears to reflect no discernable trend to either an increase or a decrease in the incidents of child neglect.

INTERPRETATION OF COMMUNITY CHANGES

In Chapters 1 and 2, the problem of community change associated with Inuit exposure to permanent wage employment was placed in both a theoretical and a practical context. It is worthwhile to consider how the findings from this chapter relate to these debates. From the outset, it would appear that the evidence from this chapter may be interpreted as supporting Chance's hypothesis in the theoretical debate and the optimistic position in the practical debate concerning the consequences of northern development.

At the social psychological level, the evidence from interviews with wives and children of Inuit workers is generally supportive of the view that wage employment was beneficial to both the families of native workers and their home communities generally. Several wives expressed initial reluctance about the wage programme but much of this reluctance was soon overcome. After the programme was initiated, the wives of native workers reported few if any complaints, troubles, fears, or worries about the consequences of the programme. Similarly, the responses of Inuit children toward their fathers' employment were generally favourable. While many of the children missed their father while he was away at work, this separation did not appear to affect them profoundly. Like their mothers, the benefits of wage employment, especially material rewards, appear to have been greater than any social psychological costs associated with the wage employment programme.

The seven indicators used to assess the effects of wage employment at the community level also showed little disruption concurrent with the introduction of the employment programme. Economically, the wage employment programme vastly increased the cash flow in the Inuit communities. This increased money supply did not appear to result in an abnormal schedule of expenditures. In fact, a substantial proportion of the new income was spent on capital goods which supported traditional hunting activities within the communities. Hunting patterns within the community did not seem to be adversely affected because of wage employment either. Some wives reported a reduction in the availability of country food, but these occasional shortages certainly could not be interpreted as scarcities. Hunting continued to remain an activity pursued by a majority of the working men; however, the compulsion to hunt because it was necessary for family sustenance seemed to have been alleviated because of the wage employment programme. Other indicators of potential community disruption including liquor consumption, violent woundings, and child neglect all showed no sustained increase associated with the introduction of extensive wage employment opportunities.

On only two of the seven community indicators was there even limited evidence for associating community disruption with the wage employment programme. Concerning changes in diet, the available data did suggest that there were significant increases in expenditures on store bought food. Especially for Inuit children, informed observers report that diet changes associated with the increases in store bought food were somewhat less nutritionally sound than that of the traditional

Inuit. It deserves mention, however, that in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay the opportunity to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables is severely restricted. Store managers claim that this occurs because of the difficulty of shipping and storing such delicate items in the North. More skeptical observers mention an additional reason; they point out that snack foods also carry a substantially higher profit margin.

The evidence for the other possible indicator of community disruption associated with the onset of wage employment concerned the incidents of court convictions. The available evidence does show a substantial increase in court convictions in one of the communities under study in recent years.

On the whole, the available evidence demonstrates that the introduction of wage employment opportunities for the Inuit of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay was not associated with particularly severe or prolonged community changes. On the contrary, the words and deeds of the Inuit support the opposite conclusion. Wage employment was associated with a variety of material advantages and therefore its introduction and continuation are viewed positively.

The optimistic nature of the community data presented in this chapter can be integrated into Chance's theory as it was presented in Chapter 2. Chance hypothesized that community disruption is least likely under conditions where changes occur rapidly and extensively. The cases of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay appear to support such an interpretation of Northern community change. The change to wage employment was a wholesale one which occurred in very few years. Such a change in the economic system demanded extensive and rapid behavioural

change with respect to punctuality, routinization, 'future' orientation, et cetera.

At the same time that rapid and extensive economic change was occurring in these communities, changes in other major institutions were very limited. For example, the family system in the Inuit communities appears to have persisted in its traditional form. Traditionally, the Inuit have had a bilateral kinship grouping which is a particularly flexible form of family organization (Willmott, 1960). Local informants report that the family situation in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay has not seen any recent changes. An illustration of the parallels between traditional Inuit family life and that occurring under conditions of wage employment is suggested by Hobart (1975). In both situations the husband is drawn away from the home for relatively long periods in an effort to provide for his family. In the traditional case, however, the male was away hunting and trapping, whereas with wage employment he is away working on the rig sites.

Similarly, changes in the religious institution of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay natives remained minimal during the period when rapid and extensive economic change was taking place. Chapter 3 pointed out that conversion of all Inuit in these communities to Christianity occurred in a brief period after the introduction of this religious system in 1930. Since that time, the religious institution of these Inuit people has undergone little change while the people's interest in religion has remained high (Brody, 1975).

Since World War II, the educational institution of the North Baffin Inuit has seen extensive and rapid change. The history of

post-War educational policy in the Northwest Territories was elaborated in Chapter 2. In brief, the educational policy of cultural replacement introduced the Inuit to various attitudes, values, and behaviours which considerably changed their self images and cultural viewpoints in a very short period (Roberts, 1974). Since the extensive and rapid educational changes of the 1960's, however, the theme of Inuit educational policy has apparently changed little (Robinson, 1974A).

Finally, the institution of social control would appear to be another area where minimal change occurred during the period that rapid and extensive change was taking place in the economic sphere. Traditionally, social control in North Baffin communities like Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay has been "internal" (Matthiasson, 1967). In other words, informal, family-based pressures have been the principal means of community sanction and control (Brody, 1975). These self-governing devices for social control persist as the principal mechanisms of social control (Brody, 1975). For instance, a local R.C.M.P. officer reports that internal governing mechanisms in Arctic Bay are so strong that there is little need for an R.C.M.P. station there. Although the network of social control would not appear to be woven quite as tightly in Pond Inlet, local informants report that most sanctions yet remain internally generated by the Inuit community. On this dimension, like most others, it would appear as if community change has been slow and minimal.

The cases of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in the early 1970's would seem to be good examples on which to test Chance's hypothesis concerning the effects of community change. In most social

institutions, the amount of change occurring was slow and minimal. Minimal changes in institutions like the family, religion, and social control appear to have provided a continuity and stabilizing influence on the communities. Within this relatively stabilized community situation, rapid and extensive change was introduced in the economic sphere. Under conditions such as these, Chance's theory predicts community disruption will be minimal. The community data reviewed in this chapter may be interpreted as lending support to Chance's hypothesis.

Chapter 8

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

ON POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Consideration of social science's ability to inform social policy raises a variety of important issues (Boulding, 1956; Gorham and Glazer, 1976). Nettler (1972:12) emphasizes one central point: "Where ends are unclear, any programme can be justified and no programme can be evaluated. Information and knowledge are irrelevant." In other words, unless some central authority, like a government, can clearly state the objective or goal it seeks, then social science can be of little assistance. As Biderman (1966) has demonstrated, governments and other agencies are often generally negligent in clearly stating their policy objectives. This seems to be the case concerning development strategies for the Northwest Territories as demonstrated by the difficulty in finding and obtaining statements of northern policy (Chretien, 1973). Such apparent oversights may, in fact, be intentional. Some critics have suggested that ambiguity is central to the practice and maintenance of political power (Fairlie, 1975).

Furthermore, social science's utility even becomes questionable when goals are clearly stated but are plural or conflicting. Nettler (1972:12) again makes the point: "To the extent to which public policies are thus ambiguously derived out of conflict, programmes cannot be rationally designed." In the Canadian North, as elsewhere, there seems

to be a lack of policy committment to a single course of action. For example, any government who wishes to maximize both industrial-economic development in the North as well as maintain traditional native life-styles would seem to require a wisdom comparable to Solomon's.

In short, policy recommendations require a committment to a given set of goals or values. Where these goals do not exist, are unclear, or are plural or contradictory, it is difficult for social science to be useful.[16] Such a set of conditions apparently prevail in the Northwest Territories and thus it is difficult for social science to be explicitly useful. Nonetheless, some limited policy considerations may be suggested.

AN IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION

Throughout this study there has been a widespread use of the term "adjustment". This term has been used to apply to both individual Inuit as well as their communities. When applied to individuals, "adjustment" referred to the capacity of native workers to perform well on-the-job by objective standards as well as find their on-the-job experiences subjectively satisfactory. When used with reference to communities, "adjustment" was measured by how well the two Inuit settlements were able to accept the economic and social changes accompanying rapid and extensive wage employment with minimal disruption.

With both of these usages, it is important to recognize that the term "adjustment" is both value laden and employed within a certain limited context. An evaluative component accompanies the concept

"adjustment" because the standard of judgement is primarily southern Canadian. This is especially true of "on-the-job adjustment" where the type of activity as well as the performance expectations were directly imported from the South. Concerning community "adjustment", the term was used to refer to a desirable situation as one where change occurred with minimal disruption.

The third evaluative context, and the most important for the reader to recognize, concerns the time frame to which the term "adjustment" refers. In this study both on-the-job and community adjustment are used in a short term context. This point is important to appreciate for it carries relevant policy implications.

As with most industry based on non-renewable resources, the nature of oil exploration and development activity is necessarily of relatively short term. The fact that northern natives may be quite successfully "adjusting" to employment of this type, both on-the-job and in their home communities, as the findings from the two eastern Arctic communities reported in this study suggest, says nothing of the long term consequences of such adaptations. The history of native involvement with western enterprises in the Northwest Territories cautions very clearly against any generalization from short to long term "adjustment" (Jenness, 1964).

From the history of short term boom and bust development cycles in the North, and the present potential for a new phase of this cycle to begin with recent oil exploration and development, a first policy implication from our findings can be derived. This policy implication takes the form of a proscription; namely, that any evidence of

relatively successful adjustment in this study should not be taken as a signal for untethered industrial activity in the North. In fact, if a policy implication were to be stated positively, it should make clear that the possibility of successful native adjustment to and dependence upon a necessarily short term industrial activity exhorts a monitoring of development. Such monitoring would attempt to maximize the longer term benefits of industrial activity to indigenous northern populations. For oil and other non-renewable resource activity, such a policy implication would advise a plan for extracting the products over a longer rather than a shorter term.

In addition to this policy suggestion, two others might be suggested. First, an expansion of the opportunities for native people to participate in employment activities other than in unskilled occupations should be encouraged by all development operations. This deficiency was all too evident in the industrial setting examined in this report. Such limited employment opportunities help to account for this study's finding that the traditional orientation found among older, more family oriented Inuit with little schooling was most highly associated with on-the-job adjustment. For the moment such an orientation and employment structure may be acceptable. But given the fact that younger, better schooled, less traditionally oriented Inuit will continue to make up an increasingly greater proportion of the population, the structure of employment opportunities at skilled and managerial levels will require progressive expansion. Only in this manner can the rising expectations and sophistication of younger Inuit be accommodated.

Finally, mention should be made of the necessity of developing policies which encourage the acquisition of more advanced levels of schooling and training among native people. If the Inuit and other Northwest Territories natives are going to obtain employment at skilled occupations, then it is imperative that they possess attributes that will allow them to successfully qualify for these positions. Independent of the sponsor, no industrial developer can reasonably be asked to extend skilled, managerial, and professional employment offers to persons who do not possess relevant qualifications. Since the proportion of native northerners presently possessing advanced levels of schooling and training is quite small, policies promoting the acquisition of better qualifications among natives would go hand-in-hand with the previously mentioned policy implications of this study.

A DISCUSSION OF INUIT COMMUNITY RESPONSES

Chapter 2 forwarded the hypothesis that an extensive and rapid externally generated change, like wage employment among Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Inuit, need not necessarily be accompanied by community disruption. The evidence presented in Chapter 7 supported this hypothesis. There are, however, a variety of particular conditions which would seem to have mitigated the usually disruptive effects of extensive change (Chance, 1960). These intervening variables, as they influenced the Inuit in this study, deserve elaboration.

A first identifiable factor aiding the smooth adjustment of the Inuit communities to the wage employment influences was their small, compact size. This attribute tends to promote a high rate of

social interaction among the community members and therefore maximizes intragroup communication. Any visitor to these Arctic settlements immediately senses and appreciates the feeling of Gemeinschaft found therein. This social cement appears to serve dual purposes in aiding the adjustment of these communities to rapid change. First, the high intragroup contact and communication tends to promote a strong social fabric within the communities. Under such circumstances, a social and cultural tradition has a reasonable opportunity for being maintained. Consequently, where new influences would tend to disorganization and disruption, the small, cohesive nature of these communities could supply a competing element of stability. On the other hand, the same community communication and cohesiveness which was used to resist disorderly change serves to promote rapid adaptation of new social influences where these are found necessary or desirable. In this manner, the small, compact, cohesive nature of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay can be seen as one relevant variable assisting their successful adaptation to the rapid and potentially disruptive changes associated with the oil exploration wage employment programme.

More specifically, the fact that the traditional system of kinship has been maintained in these Inuit communities (Matthiasson and Matthiasson, 1975), is another factor affecting sustained community stability. As Chance (1960:1033) points out "All Eskimo villages have a series of co-existing bilateral kin groups which define specific responsibilities involving mutual aid and assistance." Where these kinship ties can be maintained, when any community member needs support, they have a clearly defined set of individuals to whom they can turn

for assistance.

Such a kinship network is obviously useful in marshalling resistance against disruptive influences. For example, when Inuit workers are away, their wives are left with a formalized set of relations to whom they can turn for support if they find themselves in material or social difficulty. A close kinship network also promotes a positive affection for programmes like wage employment. When workers are steadily employed it is relatively easy for them to acquire a surplus. Formal and informal kinship ties promote sharing and distribution of this surplus. In this manner, not only are those directly involved in the employment programme benefited, but so is the community as a whole.

A third factor encouraging smooth adjustment in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay was the fact that newly defined goals could be satisfied because of wage employment. In Chapter 3, the community profiles of these settlements demonstrated that the history of culture contact left the Inuit heavily dependent on government subsidy. In addition, culture contact had rapidly increased the aspirations of the Inuit for many southern, white goods and services. This was especially true for the young, educated community members who comprised the majority of the population. The extremely limited employment opportunities within the settlements made satisfaction of many of these new aspirations difficult if not impossible. The oil exploration employment programme provided an opportunity for satisfying almost any material desire of community members who were willing to work. In this manner, the employment opportunities reduced previous frustration and the resulting contentment reinforced the community's interest and committment in the programme.

Another characteristic that promoted successful community responses to the wage employment programme was the fact that the programme did not undermine traditional leadership structures. As discussed in Chapter 4, the logistics of the employment programme within each of the settlements was handled by an expediter. The expediter was an employee of considerable importance because he held the final decision over which men did or did not work on any given rotation. In both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, the Inuit who was employed as the expediter was a senior, traditional community leader. His support and committment to the employment programme must certainly have been a feature promoting the reliable interest of other community members in the programme. In addition, the fact that the leadership for the wage employment programme was not in conflict with the traditional leadership in the settlements was a uniting community factor which aided smooth adaptation.

Related to the fourth factor is another characteristic which enhanced the unity and cohesiveness of the Inuit community responses to the wage employment programme. This feature arose because the programme involved ample employment opportunities which were distributed equally among those who wished to work. Consequently, the material rewards associated with the employment programme were not accessable to only younger, better educated community members at the expense of a serious loss of prestige and respect for older community members. Because most employment opportunities were unskilled positions, most Inuit men could meet the job requirements. In addition, the ability of the expediter to use his influence to justly distribute the available

opportunities also promoted a lack of factionalism associated with the employment programme.

A final identifiable characteristic associated with the successful Inuit community responses to the wage employment programme involves autonomy. Since the wage employment opportunities were not available in the home communities of the Inuit workers, these men had to be transported hundreds of miles to the job sites. Though somewhat inconvenient, this separation of employment opportunities from the native communities introduced a dimension of autonomy into the programme. It allowed the Inuit men to introduce the traits they had newly acquired from their employment experiences into their home communities at their own pace. White workers were not in direct contact with the Inuit communities, acting as models, causing uncontrolled changes. In this manner, the physical and social distance between work and home helped to regulate the potentially adverse effects of wage employment contact.

The wage employment programme also carried an additional dimension of autonomy to the workers, families, and communities of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. Prior to the introduction of the employment programme these native people had been heavily dependent on government subsidy. The oil exploration wage employment programme provided them with the first relatively large scale post-War opportunity to escape this dependence and support themselves. For certain, while working for the oil companies, these Inuit were still dependent on a southern Canadian economic interest for their livelihood, but this is nothing new. In one form or another this has been the case for over a century. The relevant point is that this employment programme provided an

opportunity to earn their own way and, in this sense, regain some measure of control over their lives.

This section has reviewed some of the particular characteristics that helped to make the Inuit community adjustment to the oil exploration wage employment programme relatively successful. These reasons help to make the smooth adjustment to so abrupt and extensive a change plausible. Recent descriptive study of how a similar wage employment programme affected Coppermine can be interpreted as supporting a similar theoretical position as that forwarded by Chance and tested in this study (Hobart, 1975).

Such findings are both novel and exciting. To treat the findings as anomalous cases would be an injustice. Certainly, further study of these and other northern communities is required. At the present time, however, at least the possibility of relatively successful Inuit community adjustment to southern white influences has been established. Such a possibility will appear refreshing to many northern observers.

More important, however, is the implication that these findings have for future northern development. Too few proposals from any viewpoint have suggestions for how the adverse social effects of development might be minimized. Perhaps the cases of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay can be used as a first step in identifying relevant variables that could be built into future development strategies.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

[1]"Industrial employment", like all terms related to "industrialization", is ambiguous. In general, the term refers to employment that is highly mechanical, routinized, and specialized (Hoult, 1969:161). Oil exploration work, like that presently occurring in the Northwest Territories, is a type of employment that satisfies these criteria.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to recognize that the contact of North Baffin Inuit with industrial employment of any time has been, until very recently, severely limited. Thus the introduction of employment opportunities on the oil exploration sites contrasts significantly with anything previously available to these people and gives, as shall be demonstrated later, the study added theoretical importance.

[2]It should be noted that what follows is a review of a variety of literature relevant to our research problem. For the convenience of categorization, two different positions regarding the possibility and desirability of Inuit integration into industrial wage employment are identified as "optimistic" and "pessimistic". The choice of these labels is, to a large extent, arbitrary and should be recognized as such.

These designations have the disadvantage of suggesting that all observers of northern development could be neatly assigned into one category or another. Certainly this is not true and no such implication is intended. One could think of many illustrations where an observer might think of Inuit integration into wage employment possible (optimistic) but not desirable in the long term (pessimistic). This particular illustration shows the fallacy of treating these categories as mutually exclusive or of taking their labels as definitive.

The following categorization and choice of labels is merely intended to aid organization and to demonstrate that the research undertaken by this study is of relevance to the growing body of literature concerning northern development.

[3]Before beginning, it is necessary to make a distinction between "schooling" and "education" (Nettler, 1976). Banfield (1968:133) states the query succinctly:

> What must be questioned, however, is whether "schooling" and "education" necessarily imply one another and, more particularly, whether the kind of schooling possible under existing circumstances is capable of producing the desired effects.

Obtaining a "schooling", then, can be conceived as only part of obtaining an "education". The studies reviewed in this chapter all refer to how schooling and other possibly relevant variables relate to

work adjustment, as does the evidence presented in later chapters of this study.

The relevance of distinguishing between "education" and "schooling" as these concepts apply to work adjustment is also elucidated by Banfield (1968:1381):

> A distinction should be made between a "trained" worker and an "educated" one. The trained worker has learned how to perform certain tasks of more or less complexity - to operate a machine, say, or to keep accounts. Training may mean acquiring certain manual dexterities, mastering some body of facts, or learning to apply a set of rules or to exercise discretion within some given limits. The educated worker, by contrast, (1) possesses the kind of general knowledge, especially of reading and mathematics, that will enable him to solve various new problems, and (2) has certain traits of character - especially motivation to achieve, ability to accept the discipline of a work situation, willingness to take the initiative and to accept responsibility, and ability to deal fairly with employers, fellow-employees, and others.
>
> Training may be given entirely in the school or on the job. Education, on the other hand, cannot be wholly acquired in either place.

In short, it is necessary, when considering factors which relate to work adjustment, to remember that "schooling" and "education" are not interchangeable concepts, and that the concepts themselves may carry quite different implications for adaptation to wage employment.

[4]Drastic changes in northern curriculum have recently occurred (Robinson, 1974B). The extent to which these theoretical changes have been implemented in the classroom remains debateable (Robinson, 1974A).

[5]One test has been provided by L. Roberts (1974B), but because the data used in this study were from somewhat inadequate secondary sources, the findings of this study should be interpreted with caution. Heeding this caution, however, it is interesting to note that schooling was found to be of little or no importance to industrial work adjustment among a sample of Inuit males.

[6]The wording of this question, as it appears on the questionnaire, was incorrect. It assumed that the Inuit workers were on a 14 days off and seven days on rotation schedule rather than the 20 and ten day schedule they were actually on. This was an error occurring through an oversight. In the field, however, some attempt was made at rectification when briefing the interviewers. Rather than present specific numerical options, the interviewers were instructed to convey only the ordinal intent of the options.

[7]The initial list of independent variables included age, marital status, number of dependents, age of children, years of schooling, years of residential schooling, length of residence in settlement, previous special job training, years since last trapped full time, total previous trapping experience, type of previous

employment, length of longest steady employment, total previous wage employment, previous experience with oil companies, perception of relatives' dissatisfaction with employment, perception of whether community needs employment, frequency of hunting, desire for hunting, reason for stopping previous employment, general interest in material goods, and ability to understand the "boss". An initial sorting of these variables was made by examining multicollinearity and by sorting out those variables which explained less than 0.5 per cent of dependent variable.

[8]The factor analytic solution in this analysis was principal factoring with iterations employing orthogonal rotation. This factoring method is the most commonly used factoring procedure and is described in Nie, et. al. (1975:Ch.24).

[9]The fact that years of schooling is loaded on both principal factors is not significant in this case (Nie, et. al., 1975). The difference between the loadings is substantial and years of schooling can justifiably be viewed as loading mainly on Factor 1.

[10]It is interesting to note that years of schooling is negatively correlated with previous wage employment and oil exploration experience. Why this should be the case is not certain. From the author's experience, this would not seem to be the result of any conscious employment policy decision on the part of the oil company. In other words, employment opportunities for Inuit with various characteristics were similar.

[11]Note that since the independent variables are uncorrelated, it makes no difference which variable is first entered into the multiple regression equation.

[12]As previously mentioned, the mean score and standard deviation for the subjective index of work adjustment was 32.09 and 7.11, while for the objective index the mean score was 33.45 with a standard deviation of 7.62.

[13]Like the questionnaire used to interview their husbands, the one used for the wives contained an error on this question. As with the correction made in the field for the workers' questionnaire, the native interviewer was instructed to convey just the ordinal intent of these three alternatives.

[14]Since only 28 per cent of the children's responses came from Pond Inlet, this may be a source of bias. It is difficult, however, to state clearly what kind of bias might be indicated. A comparison of the average responses provided by children in both communities shows no significant differences. It would appear that the native interviewer in Arctic Bay was simply more energetic in his pursuit of respondents.

[15]For administrative reasons data for the 1974-75 employment season were unavailable.

[16]One alternative course of action for the social scientist in such a situation is to suggest a set of goals that should be pursued and strategies by which such goals could be achieved. The central difficulty with this course of action is that choosing relevant goals requires the scientist to commit himself to a particular set of values. Such a committment, of course, is any scientist's prerogative. It should be remembered, however, that there is no reason for governments or anyone else to grant any particular scientist's value choices any more authority than anyone else's. In short, a scientist's value committments are as arbitrary as anyone else's and there is simply no reason for believing that naturalistic ethics are any better (or worse) than any other kind.

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APPENDIX

Table 32

Correlation Matrix of Independent Variables

Variable Number	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1.0	.79	-.54	.44	.21	.13
2		1.0	-.55	.44	.13	.11
3			1.0	-.59	-.25	-.23
4				1.0	-.14	.03
5					1.0	.43
6						1.0

Legend: Number 1: Age

Number 2: Number of Dependents

Number 3: Years of Schooling

Number 4: Trapping Intimacy

Number 5: Total Previous Steady Employment

Number 6: Previous Experience with Oil Companies

Table 33

Means and Standard Deviations of Independent Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age	27.3	5.62
Schooling	3.5	3.49
Number of Dependents	2.7	1.93
Trapping Intimacy	6.0	3.38
Total Previous Steady Employment	5.6	2.32
Previous Experience with Oil Companies	6.7	2.59

Table 34

Eigenvalues and Percentage of Explained Variance for Factor Analysis of Independent Variables

Factor	Eigenvalue	% Explained Variance
1	2.63	43.9
2	1.46	24.4
3	0.80	13.5
4	0.59	9.9
5	0.30	5.0
6	0.19	3.3